

REMARKS
ON THE
ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES
OF
FRANCE
AND OF
GREAT-BRITAIN

With Respect to Commerce,
AND

To the other Means of encreasing the
Wealth and Power of a State.

Being a (pretended) Translation from the
English, written by Sir JOHN NICKOLLS,
and printed at Leyden 1754.

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T H E
A U T H O R's
P R E F A C E.

DURING the stay of two years, I made in France, the sight of its towns was not the only object of my curiosity: the Genius of the Nation, and its principles of government with regard to Commerce, and to the other springs of the Power of States, were sometimes the subject of my Consideration. On my return to England, the same objects attracted my attention, and have procured in some respects a satisfactory comparison: I offer these remarks to my Country, if they can be of any use to it.

I hope that Mr. Josiah Tucker, a worthy clergyman of Bristol, and at the same time an eminent patriot, will, without offence, see some of his ideas amongst mine: I borrowed from his Essay upon Commerce the title which I have given to these Remarks; I have taken from it almost word for word my seven first paragraphs by way of necessary introduction to my work: in short, he it was who inspired me with the resolution of travelling, and of making observations: and I pay him homage of the fruits thereof, with pleasure and gratitude.

London 1752.

John Nickolls.

A D.

Advertisement.

THE following Work lately published in the original French, had, in that country, the greatest success that could be. In less than a fortnight the first edition was run off. There has been since a second, the few additions in which are comprehended in this translation. The english turns of style in the original, and the *humor* which runs through it, made it, at the first, on the faith of the title-page, be taken for a translation. It is, however, now certainly known to be the production of a young gentleman, who has an employ at the court of Versailles, who travelled about two years ago, into the different provinces of England, and even into Scotland; in the course of which, he made it his business to pry narrowly into the state of our commerce, especially into our public funds, and other objects of Policy, and Government.

ment. On his return to France, he published the result of his observations, under the fictitious name of Sir JOHN NICKOLLS.

It will not be hard for the english reader to give a candid allowance for the work being written by a foreigner, nor will he lump conclusions against the whole, for a few errors, and imperfections of some parts, inevitable to him on such a subject. For the rest, in this summary view, he has presented of the comparative Advantages, and Disadvantages of the British, and French Nation, and of the important points on which they turn, the spirit in which he writes, plainly enough points out his drift of instructing his own nation, by an oblique insinuation of truths, the direct conveyance of which might have made them less relished, and even not quite safe for himself.

A
T A B L E

O F T H E

ARTICLES and MATTERS

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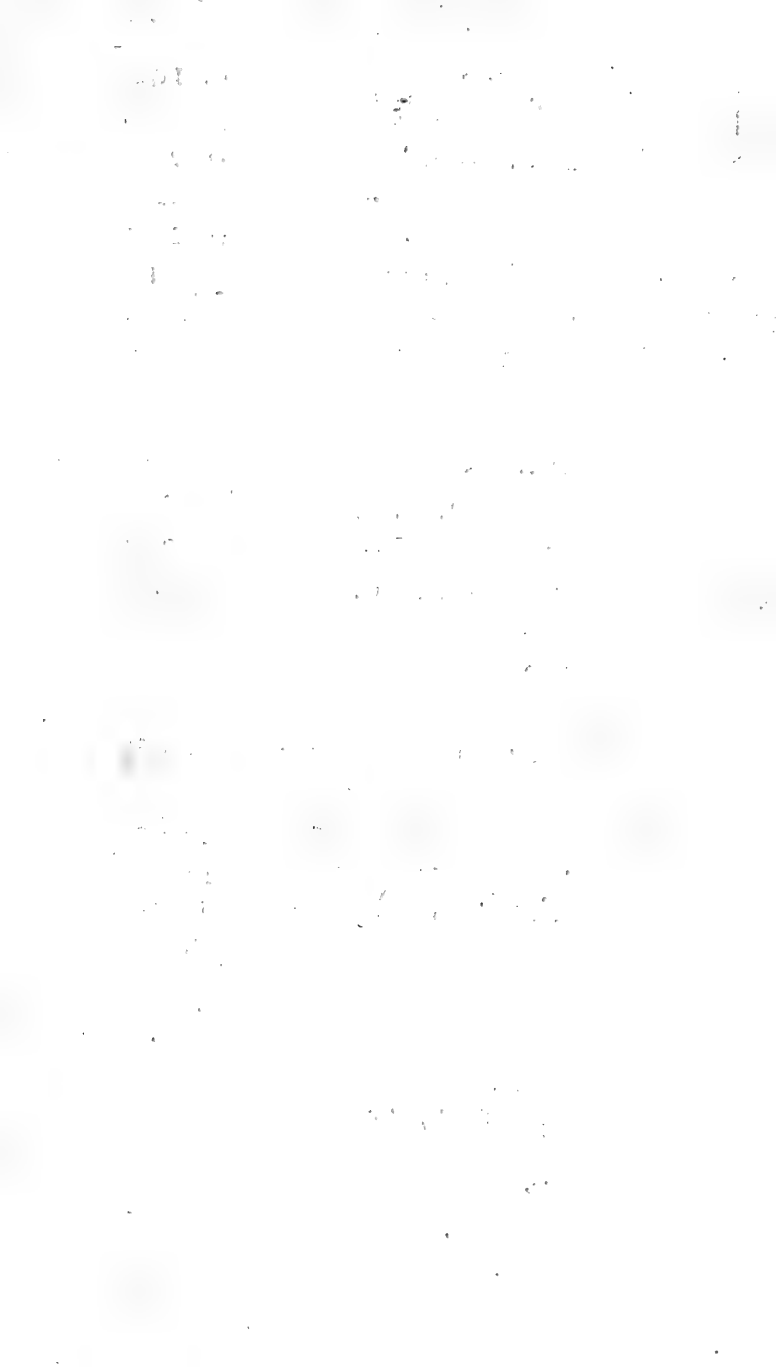
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END of the T A B L E.



ADVANTAGES O F FRANCE

With regard to Commerce ;
And to other means of increasing the
Wealth and Power of a State.

I. The natural productions of France.

THE principal ones in which its trade consists, are wines, brandys, silks, flax, hemp, oils, &c. I say nothing of corn, though it yields a great deal, because as the French are great bread-eaters, their large consumption of grain leaves little for exportation. Besides, their climate is subject to great variations, and their harvests often fail.

II. The subordination, docility, and sobriety of the common people.

Drunkenness and debauchery are not in
B France,

France, as with * us, a predominant and favorite vice, that takes them off their labour: a double advantage this to the State; there is a greater quantity of work done, and the manufacture is the less expensive.

III. The goodness of the roads, the number of rivers and navigable canals, with which France is intersected.

The convenience of communication, the facility of carriage for the natural productions, and manufactures to the sea, are two objects of great importance for a kingdom of so vast an extent as that of France. Its principal rivers the Sein, the Loire, the Garonne, the Rhone, with the others that run into them, are an advantage it owes to Nature. Its industry has added to it navigable canals admirable for the immensity of the work, and for the profits the Commerce draws from them. Such is the canal of Languedoc, by means of which Riquet established a commodious communication between Bourdeaux and Marseilles, that is to say, between the Ocean and the Mediterranean: such the
canals

* Here, and throughout, the reader must carry in his mind, that the author speaks in the *assumed* character of an Englishman.

canals of Orleans and Briare between the countries watered by the Seine and Loire ; not to mention other canals, and projects for rendering rivers navigable, the carrying of which into execution will have respectively their use, and advantage.

The high roads with which this Kingdom is intersected throughout its whole extent, are remarkable for their breadth, the solidity of their construction, and the good order in which they are kept.

They are laid down in a straight line, as much as the ground will permit : their construction and reparation are at the charge of the provinces through which they run.

IV. The wise institution of a Council of Trade, composed of different members, to whom the administration of Commerce, internal and external, is entrusted.

This Council it is which oversees the manufactures of the kingdom, and procures to them those encouragements, that liberty, and those immunities, which gave birth to them, and preserves them. It directs the mutual commerce between France and its colonies to their best common advantage. Well-informed of the state of the national trade, by a comparison of the

annual imports, and exports; it observes the branches of it which want protection. From this knowledge it is that they govern opportunely their solicitations to foreign Powers for new Advantages; that they defend those which they possess, or profit of those which present themselves. It is on the representations from this Board that those Treaties of Commerce are projected which commonly accompany Treaties of Peace; for Commerce is the most effectual remedy for War, as it is often the occasion of it. In short, this Council is a center of union for Trade, the Marine, and the Revenue, to furnish one another reciprocal and necessary occasional assistance.

V. The great produce of the French Colonies addicted to the cultivation of Sugars.

The islands of Domingo, and Martinico, have a great superiority over our windward islands. Witness the price of the English sugars, higher than those of France 20, 30, and sometimes from 40 to 70 per Cent. quality for quality.

The difference of the soil, and of the expence of cultivation, is doubtless the reason of it; our mould comparatively poor, shallow, and worn out, craves manure;

nure; our plantations of sugar canes in plains without shelter are liable to be burnt up in dry summers. The French islands, especially Martinico, have the advantage of a richer and deeper soil, interspersed with hills, and rivulets, which give a freshness and a shelter favorable to recultures; besides France not consuming in sugars the tenth part of what England does, sends to the foreign market a superfluity which is considerable.

Indigo is not with less success cultivated in them. The custom on the import of it had formerly discouraged the cultivation of it in our islands, neither has it been restored, though the custom was not only abolished, but even a bounty granted of six-pence a pound on the indigo of our colonies imported into England. The French indigo has always kept up its advantage, at market, ruinously for ours.

As France possesses the most celebrated manufactures of articles for luxury and fashion, her colonies are less tempted than ours, to supply themselves with foreign merchandize. Those colonies too have not formed up any manufactures which might be prejudicial to France. They draw from France, or the other colonies of it in Northern America, the supplies of neces-

aries for living, nor buy any of us, or of the Dutch, unless in cases of necessity.

VI. France, by means of her foreign trade, and the industry of her inhabitants, has arrived at appropriating to her own use, the natural productions of other countries. That country does not of itself yield the fourth part of the wool, and raw silk, which it employs in its manufactures. It draws wool from Spain, Barbary, &c. and some from Switzerland. Notwithstanding too the severe prohibitions and penalties enacted against the exportation of wool, it gets some quantity from England, and a very great one from Ireland, though this clandestine outlet has somewhat diminished, by permitting its importation into some ports in England: but a thorough remedy against it will never take place, unless by opening freely all the ports of England to this importation. †

VII. France, bounded on the East by Germany, Switzerland and Savoy, has made its advantage of the neighbourhood of those countries, abounding as they do with men; she has invited those foreigners without employ

† Which has been done by an act of the 6th session, 3d parliament of George II. 1753.

employ at home, to come and settle in her armies and manufactures. A policy of which the advantages are well-judged: for, in fact, the money she pays to foreign troops is, in a good measure, expended within the kingdom, but she would be a gainer, even were that money to go out of it. The soldier whom she pays, spares her the taking off a labourer: and the labourer produces more to the state, than she pays to the soldier. The foreign artists, whom she admits into her manufactures, contributes to keep the work at a low rate, and establishes an emulation favorable to their advancement. It is computed that there are near ten thousand Swiss and Germans employed in the town of Lyons||. Thus France, in some measure, replaces those inhabitants which England, and the Protestant countries in their turn, get from her.

VIII. But an INESTIMABLE ADVANTAGE is that which redounds to France, from that species of madness with which other nations have adopted the taste, and fashions of the French. By what enchantment is it, that so light-brained frivolous a people, have been able to extend over the

|| This is not exact.

Universe, the ruinous and tyrannical empire of its modes? This nation, covetous of glory and reputation, has set up its pretensions to hold the first place in power, in talents, in sciences, in agreeableness; in short, in acquisitions of all kinds, and is arrived at giving herself, at least the appearance, of this universal superiority.

The Court of France is the most splendid of any in Europe; her armies are the most numerous. The highest luxury, and the most opulent exterior, reign in her towns: The useful as well as agreeable arts, the sciences, and even Wit, have all their particular schools, and academies: The excessive taste of the French for dress, and their passion especially for enjoying life with ostentation, improves and sets off these advantages, and presents to the curious Foreigners, a sight which seduces, whilst it dazzles them. All nations then owe to France at least the tribute of curiosity, which is not always restrained to that sentiment. To say nothing of the money they spend there, and which amounts to very great sums: the greatest mischief is, that each traveller, returning to his country, carries away with him some french affection, taste or fashion. Our-selves, even we, whom our national pride
and

and rivalship have the most preserved from the french infection, dress out in french cloaths, and french stuffs, even on public, or birth days. We prefer the wines of France, and keep french cooks.

In order to propagate this seducement, the Court of Versailles affects the magnificence of making presents to foreign nations of the finest master-pieces of work from the principal manufactures of the kingdom: dangerous presents, which ought to inspire a distrust of their end, *timeo Danaos, & dona ferentes*. For by this means it is that the manufactures of France have introduced themselves with such success into other countries, forcing the barriers, which high customs, or prohibitions oppose in vain to them. Thus it is too that the excess of luxury, ruinous elsewhere, is become as to France a sort of necessity, towards preserving to it that superiority of which it is in possession, in point of fashions, and which also supports its manufactures.

The same empire which France has usurped over the tastes of other nations, the Court of France exercises with yet a greater power the subjects of the Capital, and that Capital over the other towns. This influence is capable of the greatest effects.

effects. Let but the King appear to countenance any beginning new manufacture, it is secure of the consumption of its produce, and of its success. On the other hand, towards the effectual prohibition of any foreign stuff, the King need but proscribe the use of it in his Court, or Palaces, this means will be more efficacious than the most positive prohibition: but should he himself preserve the use of it, or tolerate it in those about him, his forbidding it would be of no effect: his example will be more attended to than his orders.



DISADVANTAGES O F F R A N C E

With respect to Commerce;
And to other Means of encreasing the
Power and Wealth of a State.

I. DISADVANTAGES *with respect to the* PROPAGATION *of the* HUMAN SPECIES, *and to the* EMPLOYMENT *of the* INDIVIDUALS.

A Moderate calculation makes the number of priests, clergy, and monastics of both sexes, in France amount to five hundred thousand: and these five hundred thousand deprive the kingdom of a most valuable encrease. The celibate clergy is a gulph in which the fortieth part of the nation is continually annihilated, without ever being repaired.

But amongst other ranks of men who are not condemned to celibacy, by a rigorous vow, there are many reasons, some of convenience, according to condition of

life; others from prejudice, which are contrary to the multiplication of the species.

Few soldiers care to marry, and France has on foot, even in time of Peace, at least one hundred and fifty thousand men.

The Nobility is numerous and not rich, and every family sacrifices its daughters, or younger brothers, to the vanity of raising, or perpetuating a single branch of it, that must engross its power, or wealth. Convents, or church-benefices, afford those victims a retreat.

But Nobility is to be bought: every commoner become rich, has an ambition to be made noble, and to live up to that character; so that the effects of this destructive principle proceed extending *ad infinitum*.

The excessive inequality of the distribution of property in France does not manifest itself less pernicious to propagation. The effect of this is sensibly felt in Paris, and the great towns. Those fortunes which swell out of all size, effectually diminish the ease of those whose fortune is susceptible of no augmentation. The condition of the Robe, for example, reduced to a mediocrity almost scandalous, can scarce afford to marry the one half of its children: once
more

more the clergy, and the convents are the resource of the other half.

The excess of luxury has lessened the number of marriages, even amongst those who have easy fortunes: many of them remain single, because it is more *genteel* to keep six horses in their stables, than to furnish children to their country, and to live with œconomy.

Again over-delicacy, that companion of luxury, overturning even the dearest ideas of nature, has made a settled point of it, that it is inconvenient, and even not so *genteel* for a mother to nurse her children herself. Soon the condition itself of mother came to be held vexatious, as above all the education of children too expensive. How many reasons destructive to the fecundity of marriages!

In France then, two only divisions of rank remains susceptible of a happy propagation from that mediocrity, and supposed ease, of their condition, which might be convenient for that purpose. That of the labourers, and that of the traders.

As to the labourers, the country furnishes, in that class, as great living prodigies in misery and indigence, as the towns can exhibit in wealth. Upon them it is that the burthen of the charges of govern-

government, falls with the heaviest weight. A labourer, who has barely the necessaries of life, must naturally dread a number of children as a misfortune. The fear then of an unsupportable misery hinders many from marrying, and even in this class, marriages are become less frequent, and less productive of children to the State.

Remains then solely the class of mechanics and traders, that can maintain numerous families : but many reasons, to be hereafter deduced, concur to diminish the number of subjects even in that class.

Thus in France, the ecclesiastical state, military constitution, the prejudices of the nation with respect to nobility, the excessive inequality of the distribution of property, luxury, poverty, all combine to stop the propagation of the human species.

As to the employment of the individuals, let us go over the different professions.

Of LABOURERS.

If the question was to be put, what portion of subjects the State ought to afford towards the cultivation of land, the answer would be nearly just, to say that no excess need be feared in this profession. But it may for a certainty be advanced, that there are not labourers enough in a State, when

when it might be rich enough in the natural produce of the country, to sell to others its superfluity, and, instead thereof, is on the contrary obliged to purchase a part of its necessaries from others. Now France is often in this case.

Upon a fair survey of some of its provinces, it would be found that not only a great deal of their land remains in waste, which might produce grain, or fodder cattle, but that the ground itself which is cultivated does not yield, by far, in proportion to its goodness, because the labourer wants the stock, or means wherewithall to improve it.

The extream misery of the labourer in France is commonly attributed to the exorbitance of the taxes, which he is forced to pay. He is taxed in proportion to the land which he cultivates for the landlord, in proportion to that of which himself may be owner, and in proportion to his industry, either in improving it, or in trading in the produce of the earth: and tho' it is always the land-owner who pays the taxes, yet it is upon the farmer that the weight of them falls directly: for he is subject to the costs of seizure and execution, not only in proportion to his stock, and to his industry, but in proportion
to

to the land, though but the farmer, or planter of it.

The portion of the taxes which he pays according to his rate of industry, is either so unjustly estimated, so exorbitant, or levied in so discouraging a manner, that a farmer is afraid of clearing a new field, of augmenting the number of his cattle, or in short of displaying fresh industry, sure as he is to see himself loaded with a new arbitrary tax, though he has not sufficient to pay the old one. Thus a farmer can have no more emulation for acquiring, than a slave who only acquires for his master; he has no hopes of encreasing his property, and his interest requires him to appear poor.

It is a maxim received in France, that the Peasantry must be kept low, and not suffered to be at ease. But supposing this maxim to be as true as it is destitute of humanity; at least, nothing is more certain, that it has been abused. So far from being at their ease, the peasants in France have not even a necessary subsistence. They are a species of men, which begins to decline and wear out at the age of forty, for want of a reparation proportioned to its fatigues. Humanity is hurt by the comparison of them with other men, and above
all:

all with the English peasants. Observe but the French labourers, and their exterior alone points out the impairs of their bodies, and the destruction of the faculties of their minds.

This profession then being the most laborious, and the most unhappy, must of course lose every day some of its subjects. The luxury of the towns robs the country of useful inhabitants, to make footmen of them, or townsmen in idle professions. Some of them aspire to the ecclesiastical state, and get into it too.

It is likewise principally at the expence of this class that armies are formed. Every Parish is bound to furnish a certain number of men, who are listed only to serve for the space of six years, and are successively replaced by others; this is what is called *the Militia*. In time of peace, the service not being effective, does no great hurt to the cultivation of the land, but in time of war, they are so many workmen; of which the country is deprived, and to which they are rarely restored. A soldier who has lived a soldier's life, cares rarely for resuming the plough.

Thus it is that this class of men, who procure to the State the two most essential advantages, that of provisions, and materials

rials for manufactures, is continually tending to the being dispeopled; so that, in France, every thing seems disposed towards procuring that there should be as few labourers in it as possible.

Of MECHANICS and TRADERS.

One may say of this class as of that of labourers, that there can be no excess in the number of men which it shall contain. One may say too, that in France, many reasons tend to render it every day less and less numerous.

As to MECHANICS.

All steps taken to cramp, distress, or over-tax industry, tends directly to destroy this class, and indirectly, by diminishing the consumption, from the augmentation of the price of labor, and the diminution of that labor.

And what can be more cramping, or vexatious, than the length of the most part of the Prentice-ships, the number of Offices, and privileges of Masters, the multiplicity of Companies with exclusive privileges, of which the assertion in fact is almost impossible, and must necessarily occasion litigations between them: insomuch that those statutes, and regulations, the
pretext

pretext of which is the Good of trade, are, in reality, through the number of them, and the exclusive spirit which has dictated almost all of them, an obstacle to the advancement of industry, and trade. For want of means to pay for a master's freedom, for reception, &c. a mechanic is often debarred from taking up the trade, to which he has the most natural vocation. By means too of Companies multiplied beyond necessity, the same work which passes through different hands, does not arrive at its perfection, till after having payed the charges of each company, which encrease its price without encreasing its intrinsic value.

What again can be a greater burthen on the class of mechanics, than the taxes imposed from time to time on the companies, and bodies corporate, or the creations of new offices, or privileges, &c! yet, has this practise been made if not an object, at least a resource of the revenue, not only in difficult circumstances of the State, but these taxes are actually laid on, in occasions of Joy, such as accessions of the Kings of France, marriages of Queens, births of Dauphins: resources always paultry in themselves, but excessively, and irreparably ruinous in their consequences.

In short, even the industry of the mechanics, is almost inevitably and respectively subjected to an arbitrary tax, inso-much that they are made to pay to the State precisely, as it were a fine for the having produced in that State, a value which did not before exist in it: which is obviously an expedient imagined for the discouragement of industry.

I shall add a remark *here*, for want of knowing where to place it better. The number of holidays, or days prescribed by the roman religion, greatly reduces the sum of labour. Though France has suppressed some of her holidays, we have at least forty more workdays than she has: which imports, that every thing else being equal, the french workman must work one ninth of time less than ours, which must render his work a ninth dearer, and his subsistence the harder in that class. Some other catholic countries have wisely reduced the duty on holidays singly to that of hearing Mass, with permission to work on them.

Of TRADERS.

This class must necessarily be affected by the oppression of that of the mechanics: the fewer there are of these, the fewer there

there must be of traders: the dearer too the goods are, there will be the fewer dealers, both in the inland and foreign trade; besides the tax upon industry does not lie less heavy on this class than on that of the mechanics. Several traders, in order to avoid it, draw their capitals out of trade, and with them purchase places that exempt them from it.

But nothing dispeoples more this class, than that passion common to all who are grown rich, of acquiring nobility: some with a view to those immunities and privileges which the persons and estates of the noblemen enjoy preferable to, and in prejudice of the persons, and property of the commonalty; others again from the vain ambition of exalting their rank in life. This vanity, it is said, is nationally the French genius, but it should seem that it is only in nations governed by themselves, that the national character could make any pernicious progress: but in a nation arbitrarily governed, a ministry ever watchful, and without passions, has it in his power, by wise dispositions, to correct wrong inclinations: In France, it is manifest enough, that this has been neglected. In a nation where every thing operates through the influence of honor, or vanity, they have
deprived

deprived of all emulation of honor, or vanity, the most useful professions in the whole State. Mechanics, manufacturers, undertakers of manufactures, shopkeepers, adventurers by sea, all these classes indifferently comprehended under the appellation of merchants, are not the one more distinguished, or considered than another. It was therefore in vain that Lewis XIV. granted to the Nobility the permission of trading in a wholesale way without derogating. No body took the benefit of it: and when he also granted to the traders made noblemen the liberty of continuing their traffic, had he effectually intended that they should use it, he ought to have made it a condition of his conferring nobility upon them, that they should continue their commerce, and bring their children up in it.

If some manufactures, as amongst others those of Vanrobais, and the Gobelins, have received particular marks of honor and protection: on the other hand, that wise policy has been counter-acted by vexatious and mortifying dispositions; for example, in that the children of merchants are exposed to be draughted out on the militia-duty, the same with those of the lowest rank, and even with footmen. Thus it is
that

that merchants despised, and debased, have become contemptible even in their own eyes, and have gone to other countries in search of a consideration and esteem refused to them in their own, ruinously both to the public and private interest. A merchant, an equipper of privateers, who abandons a manufacture, or his dealings at sea, deprives commerce, not only of the considerable capitals he employed in it, but also of his credit. All the classes of people to whom he gave employ must necessarily feel the miss of him, and these losses are doubtless ill repaired by those who succeed him with less capitals, credit, abilities, and experience: these losses are too frequent; they keep commerce, and the class of artificers, workmen, and traders, in a state of weakness and decline.

Of the REVENUE. *Of the* CLERGY; *of* MAGISTRATES, *and* LAWYERS; *and of the* MILITARY.

Upon a mature examination of the functions of these different orders, it cannot be disowned, that nothing can be more reasonably desirable than that what they do in a State, should be done by the smallest possible number of them.

On the contrary, in France, these four states of life have acquired a continual augmentation in number: the other classes of the kingdom have no other views of ambition than to get into the Revenue, the Clergy, the Law, or the Army.

These are the four *States* of life so named, as if none other could deserve that name. To get into one of those classes, is what is called in France, *entering into a state of life*: the other functions of subjects, that is to say of the most useful ones, must content themselves with the humble term of *profession*, or *trade*. In France, it would be an impropriety in speech, to say that workmen, or merchants, have a *state of life*.

Of the REVENUE.

The levying of imposts, taxes, &c. is a necessary charge which adds to their weight; the receiver might, in another profession, produce to the State a real good: it is then to be wished that the fewest subjects possible should be employed in those collections.

In France the nature of the taxes, their number, the inland customs so much multiplied, have in the same proportion multiplied the collectors of dutys.

This

This class, is that into which the other ones seek admission with all the eagerness, and passion imaginable, and that for two reasons.

The first, because great fortunes are made in it, and that money is the price, or at least the necessary instrument of attaining honors, and employments in the three others. The second, because the class of the Revenue, has itself been made susceptible of honors: money has made noblemen of almost all the chief officers of the revenue, and even many of the subaltern ones. All the clerks, and those in the very lowest employs in it, wear a sword, which naturally belongs only to the military, and distinctionally to the nobility.

The Revenue has acquired to itself a sort of illustration by its alliances. We have seen the highest noblemen lay down their pride at the feet of wealth, and court, in an alliance with the farmers of the revenue, an opulence, which often after the ceremony, they repay with a most inhuman contempt.

Men of the Robe have often imagined to find in the revenue, means of repairing their indigence: but instead of a solid permanent fortune, they have often got

nothing but the example, and the principles of a ruinous luxury ; and if their integrity may have preserved itself exempt from reproach : at least their austerity, and morals, have suffered some corruption.

Of the CLERGY.

There are incontestably, in France, many more ministers of religion, than is requisite to teach, or preserve its deposit with them : the necessary number for these two functions being once compleat, all beyond that, have nothing to do but to possess ecclesiastical benefices. It is said, that they are the recompence of younger brothers in families which have been ruined in the military service of the state : what a principle, and what a resource must that be for a Government, to annihilate one part of its subjects, by way of recompence to another part of them !

I have often heard it repeated in France, “ The convents of both sexes are a great
“ convenience : what could be done with
“ our daughters, if there were not con-
“ vents ? ” This way of thinking in a civilised nation, ever appeared to me extremely strange : certain barbarous people in Asia could imagine no better resource against indigence, than that of drowning a
part

part of those children, which the fertility of nature had granted them.

An expedient has been imagined of assigning to the military, pensions upon some of the ecclesiastical benefices. Another employ of the superfluity of the church-possessions presents itself more naturally, and that would be to take out of them wherewith to portion young marriageable men, and girls, in the country, in order to provide the remedy of the evil, out of the very cause itself of it.

Of MAGISTRATES and LAWYERS.

The Laws, and the administration of justice, being rather the remedy of an evil, than a positive good in a State: one should prefer the plainest simple methods in it, and those which would employ the smallest number of subjects.

In France, the Magistrates, the Judges in the Courts of Justice, superior and inferior, Royal and Leet, form an immense body, which has a number, at least as great, under it of instruments, and officers of justice, such as sollicitors, proctors, attorneys, notarys, bayliffs, &c: a multitude that is become at length itself one of the greatest nuisances of the administration of Justice.

This inferior class takes off a number of subjects from the most useful professions, and multiplies daily, on account of the fortune which are made in it.

The superior class of the Magistrates, on the other hand, becomes, and remains poor, because their fortune in it, is not susceptible of augmentation, and yet what respect still continues to subsist for that rank, draws subjects into it; some noblemen still vouchsafe to hold employs in it, and some commoners seek earnestly to get into it, for the sake of the privileges, and ennoblement annexed to it.

So that the Body of the Law, and of those who belong to it, is as numerous as possibly it can be.

Of the MILITARY.

A Body which can never be formed but at the expence of the most useful professions to Society; a Body which devours its members, since it only procures them a subsistence for life, and is in its nature an enemy to marriage, ought to be as little numerous as possible. In France however it is that which is the most excessive in proportion.

The ambition of France to hold the first rank amongst the Powers of the Earth

is doubtless the principle of the enormous encrease of her armies. The character of the Nation, her prejudices have notably seconded the policy of the Government. The military State is the only one which befits the nobility : but the nobility is so numerous, and poor, and the military employs not being sufficient for the subsistence of all ; honors were granted them by way of supplement. The military is then solely in possession of the highest honors, and attributes to itself exclusively the title of nobility properly so called.

What I say here, relates principally to the troops in the land-service. The sea-service has been far from having the same favor, and attention shown to it by the Government. The great expences which the maintenance of the first exacts, are without doubt the cause of the mediocrity of encouragement given to the latter. In short, in France, the land-service is in all respects the preferential one ; as in England, the marine.

But in France all the world desires to be, and can be noble, and every nobleman can be nothing but military. This class must be then the most numerous of all. I shall add some remarks upon the nobility in general.

Of NOBILITY in general.

The Nobility, in France, carries with it an exemption from a great part of the taxes, and offices of the State: thence, that desire so little of the noble in it, and yet less worthy of a patriot, which every one has to acquire nobility, in order to be dispensed from contributing to the service of the Public. At the same time, through an antient, established, and encouraged prejudice, a nobleman cannot, without dishonor, enter into trade. He cannot even, consistently with his honor, live upon his estate, and personally improve it by keeping it in his own hands. It is requisite for a nobleman to hold his fortune, and estimation from the military service, that is to say, that he should subsist at the expence of his Country. And yet, the means of acquiring this nobility have been multiplied. It is to be acquired by serving a certain time in the Army. Some employs in the Law confer it too. An infinite number of other Offices seem to have been created for no other purpose than to sell it. For a hundred thousand *livres* lent to the Government at four per cent. one may have the place of Secretary to the King, which confers nobility, with
all

all its circumstances on him, or on the descendants of him who dies in that post, or possesses it twenty years, after which it is sold, and makes another new nobleman. A Grand-father who has many children, by this means, makes at one stroke, a multitude of heads of noble families: that is to say, he purchases for them the honor, and necessity of subsisting at the expence of their Country. Doubtless, they might have tacked to these posts the condition of exercising some profession, useful and profitable to the Public, or have clapped some restrictions on the rights, and enjoyment of this nobility: but then these posts would not have found a sale quick enough, and the creation of the greater number of them was a resource for the Revenue. But what a ruinous bargain are they for the State! they have multiplied its expences, diminished its revenues, and the number of its useful subjects, when they multiplied the means of acquiring Nobility.

CONCLUSION *from the Premisses.*

To recapitulate in brief. In France, the greatest number of those professions which employ the individuals, contain principles opposed to the propagation of them,

them, or necessary causes of their destruction.

Secondly, the classes useful to the State, that is to say, those which produce in the State a value which before did not exist in it, are the most loaded, and depressed, and the strongest tendency or determination of the subjects is towards those professions which produce least to the State, and are the least susceptible of population. In short, they have multiplied the means of rendering men the least profitable to the Public Weal.

A curious comparison, but which I have not been able to procure for myself, would be that of the number of marriages respectively made in each of the classes abovementioned, such as the Military, the Law, the Revenue, Traders, Artificers, Labourers in easy circumstances, Labourers in uneasy ones. I would then, compare the number of children in the families of each different class, and I do not doubt, but that the number of marriages would be found lesser in certain classes, and the children rarer in the marriages of those classes, in a proportion that would verify what I have advanced.

Another satisfactory comparison, would be that of the number of men which
France

France employs in the different professions, with that which England employs in the same. There would, doubtless, be found a disproportion between them, that would explain how Great Britain, less by one half in extent of territory, and number of men, possesses a Marine, a trade, and revenues so superior to those of France, in proportion to those two points.

The affluence of the English labourers, the encouraged cultivation of land, a numerous body of artificers, of considerable traders, on the one hand; on the other, Land-troops in a moderate number, Clergymen in no greater one than necessary for instruction, a respectable Marine, will give the solution of this problem.

It is not without a sensible joy that I have remarked in the Government of France, a *vice* of constitution, of which the consequences are so extensive, and I have congratulated my Country upon it: but I could not, at the same time help feeling, from the reflection, how formidable must have become this Power, this ambitious rival of ours, if it had made the most of those advantages, which offered themselves from its possessions, and number of subjects.

O sua si bona norint!

II. DISADVANTAGE *of* FRANCE, *in the manner in which it employs the* GENIUS *and* INTELLECTS *of its* INHABITANTS.

FRANCE does not employ more to its advantage the genius and intellects of its inhabitants, than it does their hands. It is the country in Europe which contains the most schools, colleges, academies of all kind. The french tongue, has, in its Capital, its appropriate academy. The *belles lettres*, antiquities, painting, sculpture, music, have also theirs. All the provinces of France, in emulation of the Capital, have vyingly with one another, erected academies: and yet with all the number of them, one sees none that wants members. The ambition of being admitted into them, raises an infinite number of writers, whom it takes off from agriculture, from the useful arts, and from trade. For in France, an author does nothing else besides writing, and forbids himself absolutely all useful profession. Authors are a species of nobility, or of men who live nobly by the reputation of their works, and the protection of the rich. Yet there are many of these writers who
had

had done much better at the plough's tail, or in manufacturing paper, instead of staining it, and had certainly been more useful to the State.

Examine but the different objects which employ those academies, or are treated of in their books, and you will find that the disquisitions, the sciences, the arts of sheer entertainment, or agreeable amusement, have all the preference over those which are only useful: but Wit especially, or the manner of writing, or speaking, is the object with which they appear most taken up: and in that it is indeed that they have made the greatest progresses. The French, without dispute, write with more gracefulness and method than any other nation, but it seems, that contented with this advantage, they have neglected the manner of thinking, and the choice of matters.

Amongst the many academies so liberally spread throughout France; commerce, mechanic arts, agriculture, of which the details are so extensive, have not deserved to have their particular academies. * Yet are not the names of these sciences unknown

* Sola res rustica, quæ sine dubitatione, proxima & quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est, tam discipulis eget quam magistris. Adhuc enim scholas rhetorum, C 6 geome-

known in some of those academies; but they cannot attract but a slight attention, confounded as they are, with so many other sciences more *noble*, and more amusing. The prizes which these academies distribute, and which have served so much to multiply wits, poets, scholars, painters, sculptors, &c. have never been thought on to employ towards multiplying artists, manufacturers, husbandmen: no public or private fund is allotted to encourage discoveries useful to Society. Be it that a zealous patriot should start up, and furnish the Public with observations upon agriculture, the fruit perhaps of long, and costly experiments, there are few can make the same trials for want of means, or for fear of the loss should they not succeed. Himself too, perhaps for want of aids, shall be forced to abandon a study to which neither the labor, nor the abilities of a single private person may be sufficient. In short, it is almost a phenomenon amongst the subjects of the prizes of academies,

geometrarum, musicorumque; vel quod magis mirandum est, contemptissimorum vitiorum officinas, gulosius condendi cibos, & luxuriosius struendi ferula, capitumque, & capillorum cincinnatores non solum audivi, sed & ipse vidi. COLUMELLA, de re rustica, Lib. I. cap. 1.

demies, that which the academy of Amiens proposed for the year 1753, in the following questions: "What are the different qualities of the wool necessary to the manufactures of France? Can these manufactures be carried on without the spanish, irish, or other foreign wool? What would be the best methods of giving to the french wool the quality it wants, or of augmenting its quantity?"

Amongst the french books, the most rare, indisputably, are such as professedly treat of the arts, and sciences useful to society. They have next to nothing wrote upon agriculture, or commerce in general, and less yet upon the detail of those objects, and upon such as relate to them: they have even neglected the helps offered to them, in the writings of other nations. In no library, public or private, is to be found a specific collection of the works existing upon trade and agriculture. They have taken special care to enrich the french language with translations from the poetry, and romances of all countries. They have translated some of our poets, and romance-writers, good and bad; but our authors upon commerce and agriculture,

ture, will be sure to be the last known amongst them. †

The education of men might here well deserve some particular remarks. In all countrys, it is ever instituted in conformity to the genius of the nation, and by a necessary circle, contributes to form, and preserve that national genius. But I will not undertake to enter into too prolix a detail of those faults which may be common to the french education, as well as to ours. Voyages are without doubt the best school in which to form men: and in truth we run so much into voyaging, and even so excessively, that it might be thought, that with many of us Englishmen, the taste for travelling, is nothing but a restlessness in our natures, a desire, or a want of existing any where else but at home. The French are not great travellers: which I am not apt to think is owing to their contempt of other nations which

† M. Duhamel de Monceau, of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, and member of the royal society in London, has lately published a treatise on the cultivation of land, upon the principles of Jethro Tull, with some experiments upon this new method.

He has since published his excellent treatise upon the preservation of grains.

which they do not know: the plainest account to be given for it, is that the luxury of parents, is not so compatible with the expence necessary to let their children travel. Yet one meets with Frenchmen who have made the tour of Italy, and it seems even that to have been in England begins to be a sort of fashion amongst them. The sensible part of them who are returned from thence, give a more decent and favorable character of our politeness, and manners, than formerly, and perhaps we now deserve it better. Some of them, at their return, talk much of our horses, which they do not know how to ride; of more robberies, than they ever met with; of our liberty, of which they have no idea. I do not know whether it is through imitation (which we might construe for a mark of esteem) or whether it is a caprice of fashion, but I have observed in our young Frenchmen in the morning, a great deal of the english airs, just as we reproach our youth with having adopted the french ones, in their dress and manners; the Youth of France, passes a horseback, or sauntering about on foot, the morning in doing of nothing, after the english way; and the evening in doing of nothing, after the french one. But still they imitate

imitate us awkwardly, their *frocks* are not long waited enough, and they will never set horses on their haunches so well as we do. *O imitatores s !*

III. DISADVANTAGE to FRANCE in the distributive oeconomy of PROPERTY.

THE unequal distribution of property through the different conditions of life, is one of the principal ties of society, and the most powerful cause of the subordination between the members of it, from the Sovereign down to the lowest subject. Luxury is the necessary effect of it, and at the same time a remedy to it: it is by this means, if right managed, that money circulates, and carries life through all the parts of the Body-politic.

But this unequal distribution of property may be so excessive, or faulty, as that excessive wealth in one class of the State, may cause in the other part an excessive poverty. As there is nothing but the land, or trade that can produce in the State a value that did not before exist in it, all excessive fortunes which do not proceed from those spring-heads, cannot
but

but be formed at the expence of the trader, or the land-improver: which must be a sort of imposition on those two classes, prejudicial to cultivation, and industry. Besides the excessive proportion of overgrown fortunes, is, in its nature, little favorable to the consumption of provisions and merchandize. The head of a family of twenty thousand pounds sterling a year will not consume so much wine, for example, as twenty families of a thousand a year each. The dissipation and waste in such an house of the necessaries of life, will not ballance the deficiency of consumption by the mechanics, and peasants, deprived of the means of it.

If a number of such enormous fortunes should start up, and not be distributed, in due proportion, over all the parts of the kingdom, the effect of them will be yet more pernicious. There will necessarily result from it a mis-ordered distribution of subjects: the inhabitants will be drawn from all parts of the kingdom towards that spot of it, in which the wealth of the State is concentrated, and the evil will grow boundless, if these men quit those professions, which may be termed, of the first necessity, to take up trades which shall produce nothing to the State, or which
have

have only for object a ruinous consumption, and such are all those which are maintained by an excessive luxury. This is what has happened in France.

France concentrates in Versailles, and Paris, as in a single point, all the powers which can attract mankind; to Court, on account of the greatness, and honors which can be attained no where else, and which are for none but those who live at it; to Paris, in which are not only all the treasures of the State, but where all those subjects of the State reside who are rich, either through the public, or their own private revenue: so that all the wealthy have fixed their habitation in this town, from a preference owing to the neighbourhood of the Court.

A portion so considerable of the riches of the State, as well as of the Subject, permanently fixed in one spot, cannot diffuse its influence but to a certain distance. The neighbouring lands, and such as could send their produce to that market, might feel the benefit of it, respectively in proportion to their distance. The same may be said of the manufactures necessary to the demands of life, or of luxury. The lands and the manufactures which want the convenience of carriage thither, have been neglected,

neglected, or deserted, for want of a sufficient consumption on the spot, or at proper distances. Necessity has drawn to Town the inhabitants of the Country, and luxury has employed them to excess, in all the necessary as well as superfluous professions. Thence an enormous number of footmen, and servants of all ranks, peruke-makers, artificers, and professors of the most frivolous arts, pettyfoggers, and other sharpers, a number which goes on encreasing every day, to such a degree, that to restore that œconomy which should be observed in the well-peopling of a nation, Paris ought to send colonies to all the parts of the kingdom, which have been dispeopled for its sake.

It may also be averred, that the distribution of property is ill-regulated, when one sees the land-owners, occupying, in Town, sumptuous palaces, whilst their Family-seats, their farms, their villages are going to ruin: when the produce of the provinces has no demand, or consumption, because they live no longer on their estates, than serves them to rack wherewith to live in Town; when a fertile kingdom is reduced to want grain, because the labourer is forced by his poverty to come to town to serve
the

the wants or fancies of the rich : in short, when the rich have no other way of luxury left than consuming without measure in furniture of all sorts, that gold and silver, of which the cultivation of land stands in need. Luxury well-ordered breeds a beneficial consumption : excessive luxury is a destructive abuse. It is the luxury of Cleopatra.

INTEREST *of* MONEY, *higher in* FRANCE
than in HOLLAND *and* ENGLAND.

WHY has France held up the public interest of money at 5 per cent. whilst Holland and England have brought it down, by several successive reductions to 3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent?

It is with States, as with private persons; he that has the least credit, pays the highest interest for the money he borrows; now the monarchical Government is naturally not susceptible of so great a confidence as a republican one. Upon urgent occasions, the borrower must receive the law imposed on him by the lender, and France, for a century back, has often found itself in this position: and as, amongst all the Powers which saw them-

selves

selves dragged into a War, France has made the greatest efforts in proportion to her strength, she has more than the rest exhausted her credit by all manner of ways and means of borrowing, such as creations of offices of all kinds, alienations of taxes, lotteries, tontines, annuities, rents upon the crown-lands, and upon the revenue, &c. Besides all which resources, the expedient was imagined of forming out of the farmers of the revenue, and its treasurers, a powerful Body, whose credit might supply the Government occasionally, which is just as if a Lord without credit, should borrow at ten per cent. of a steward of his, enriched at his expence, what that steward could raise upon the Change at six per cent. Reduced then to these expedients, the King could not be the master enough of the interest of money, to reduce the public interest. But as the French are naturally trustful, and little capable of lasting impressions, a few years of peace, and of perseverance in keeping faith, in the engagements of the Government, may make passed times be forgot, and accomplish the re-establishment of the public credit. Then a proper sinking fund, and some competent sums which the farmers of the revenue, and
the

the treasurers might advance at a low interest, the King's re-imbursing some part of the rents, his reducing the legal interest to four per cent. and proposing the reimbursement of some other debts, or the reduction of their interest on that foot; a great part of the public debts might successively be established at that interest, and perhaps lower. An event to which England has a great interest that War should produce obstacles.

But however that may be, in the mean time, this high rate of interest is of great disadvantage to France. It puts France, with respect to Holland and England, in the same position, as that of a borrower with respect to an usurer. The money of those nations that goes to France, goes thither in quest of the highest interest, and makes her debtor to them for considerable sums.

The high interest of money in France, swells also that class of men whose industry is lost to the state, a multitude of idle stock-holders. The number of traders is diminished by it, and trade falling into a few hands, is thereby contracted. The efforts of industry are less active, and less multiplied. The foreign trade becomes almost a monopoly: large profits are
aimed

aimed at, and moderate ones neglected: all principles the most directly opposed to a beneficial consumption, to the employment of the poor, and to the propagation of the individuals. The markets diminish, agriculture is discouraged. The moneyed men do not care to employ in the improvement of land, that money they can make more of by lending it at a high interest.

In short, as the interest of money employed in trade, is governed by the legal or established interest, it is evident that, every thing else supposed to be equal, Holland and England have the advantage over France, of being able to undertake any points of commerce three per cent. cheaper than France.

The Laws of France do not allow of taking interest of money, without alienating the fund; notwithstanding which, in contempt of those very laws, money is lent out, in trade, upon exigible notes. This usury is tolerated, and has even established itself, above the legal interest, in proportion to the scarcity of money in trade, partly caused by the prohibition of the Law: thus the Law is not executed, and yet trade suffers by that Law.

France

France has in her hands a remedy for all these disadvantages. She will doubtless open her eyes on the happy experience our Nation has made of the several reductions of the national interest since the year 1623, that it was at ten per cent. The names of those patriots who advised them, Sir Thomas Colepepper, Sir Josias Child, Sir John Barnard, will be for ever in honor, and dear to England. Before them, the Chancellor Bacon, one of the greatest geniuses of his Age, had perceived these truths, and had given the same counsels, in his moral and political Essays.

We ought not to see without inquietude, that there is yet left to France so powerful a resource, which we indeed have gone great lengths towards wearing out, and which Holland has doubtless exhausted, as one may judge by observing the interest of money there at two and a half per cent. and at the same time its commerce daily reduced by all the other nations, who do but retake what her industry had usurped, whilst the excessive load of her taxes keep at the same time her land without value.

ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES
OF

Great-Britain

With regard to

COMMERCE;

AND

To other Means of encreasing
the WEALTH and POWER

OF A

STATE.

ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES
OF

GREAT-BRITAIN

With regard to Commerce ;
And to other Means of encreasing the
Wealth and Power of a State.

NO science can well be more necessary than an exact knowledge of one's own strength, nor is it a barren consideration that of one's advantages, when the study of their principles goes along with it: of the use too made of them, and of the means to augment them, or to procure new ones. Commonly less attention than there ought to be is given to those advantages for which we are only beholden to nature, either because we are apt to take little notice of the Good we enjoy without the trouble of

D 2

seeking

52 Advantages and Disadvantages

seeking it ; or because our pride gives the preference to that which we hold from our own industry. Nevertheless, the natural advantages are the only true ones : their possession is the least lyable to be en-
vied, or taken away from us : they afford the surest recompence of the pains may be taken to extend them, which are the matter and intention of the following considerations.

I. *Of the* NATURAL FORM *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

ACcording to the computation of Mr. Edmund Halley, England, the first, and the greatest of the two kingdoms in Great Britain, contains about forty millions of square acres : and the form of it is such, that no point of land in it the most distant from the sea-coast is farther than seventy miles from it.

It is obvious to conceive how an extent so happily proportioned must be favorable to its inland-trade between its different provinces, as well as to the external commerce of the natural productions, and manufactures, and consequently to population.

As an island, Great Britain possesses a great number of maritime provinces, which is, in course, attended with the most natural disposition for having a great number of seamen, fishermen, &c.

The sea is her natural bulwark, her ships are her forts, at once offensive, and defensive, in which they have the advantage of fortifications built upon frontiers: a great one this for her, and a great necessity for her preserving the superiority of her Navy, so as to be even more in the case of attacking, than barely standing on her defence.

The most maritime Power was naturally the properest to become the most commercial one, whilst her commerce, and marine, ought naturally to procure reciprocally one another's augmentation.

As a maritime, and commercial Power, War must be less chargeable to her than to any other Power; whilst France keeps on foot four hundred thousand men armed, Great Britain scarce employs one hundred thousand men by sea and land, who are scarce missed out of the cultivation of the land, and the manufactures. Whilst she preserves her superiority at Sea, she can, at the same time, carry on her trade in her natural productions and her manu-

tures : so that in War she is certainly the Power which spends the least, and gains the most.

As an island, possessing a sufficient extent of fertile country, she might justly renounce the spirit of conquest, and has not been tempted to add to her continent, other countries, by any convenience of adjacency. A disposition this favorable to the spirit of her commerce, as well as to her constitution and tranquillity. In a State, the territories of which are of a considerable extent, the constitution preserves itself difficultly without disturbances. (Be this said, without any application of it to our possessions in America, which are rather acquisitions of commerce, than of conquest.)

The solitary, and insular existence for which Great Britain is beholden to Nature, has happily freed it from various dependences, incident to the neighbourhood of other countries. For example, she will not permit France to get possession of the Austrian Netherlands, but she does not fear this event personally, as Holland must. France may transport her victorious artillery before every place in Germany and Holland : but England will never be afraid of France, whilst the French Navy

Navy shall be in no condition to be feared.

But what is become of this so invaluable independence, since a King of Great Britain possesses dominions which give him an interest foreign to that of the nation: dominions which he must defend, which he wants to aggrandize, which he enriches with his savings: dominions in short which give to a King of England, a revenue, and troops which he does not hold from the nation?

II. NATURAL PRODUCE *of* ENGLAND.

GRAIN, wool, and cattle, mines of various sorts, are the principal riches which England owes to nature; and her industry is naturally exercised on improving these advantages by agriculture and commerce.

Of GRAIN, and Cultivation in general.

The preference to which certain natural productions are entitled over others, is full surely pointed out to us by our wants. Thus Corn is almost universally acknowledged for the species of which the cultivation deserves the first care: and as the

want of it is a general one, and that the consumption of it depends on a necessity independent on the caprices of Fashion, that State, which every thing else supposed equal, shall be superior in that point, will enjoy the most solid, and indisputable pre-eminence.

England was a long time without profiting from its advantages in this article. It must be owned, that corn is naturally less necessary to the English than to any other people in Europe. Trust-worthy Historians tell us, that before the Romans had set their foot on our island, at that time extreamly populous, the common nourishment of Britons was milk, and the flesh of wild, or tame animals, in which the country abounded, that they lived little upon grain, which was neither in esteem, or in plenty amongst them. In the North of Ireland to this day, the blood of their cattle serves them for nourishment, and chiefly milk. In the mountains of Scotland, corn is not much used; in short, in England they eat but little bread, a great deal of flesh-meat, and roots, and greens.

Whilst England thought of no more than cultivating the land for its own subsistence,

sistence, she found herself often short of it for her real wants, and obliged to foreign markets for her grain, but since she has made an object of commerce of it, her cultivation of it has encreased to such a degree, that a good harvest is a provision for five years. A favorable climate, and soil, afford her a sufficient certainty of crops, and she is now in a condition to supply, by her exports of grain, other nations who want it.

I shall quote here, for an instance of her present riches in that article, an extract of her exports from the years 1746 to 1750, comprehending all sorts of grain, as wheat, rye, barley, malt, and oats, of the growth of England, shipped off from fifty-seven of its ports, for Portugal, Flanders, Holland, France, Denmark, Russia, Africa, &c.

Extract from the State of Exportation of Grain.

Laid before the House of Commons in 1751.

For the Year	Number of Quarters.	Medium price of the Quarter for the five years	French currency.	Annual sums, communibus annis, of the said five years.
1746	633943	At 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i>		
1747	817983			
1748	1.045656			
1749	1.140848			
1750	1.651417			
	5.289847	7.405786	170.333078 Livres	34.066080 Livres

Upon

Upon these 5.289847 quarters of grain of all sorts, I find that France, for her share, has extracted 260,000 quarters, almost all of wheat, in the three years 1748, 1749, 1750, that is to say, at 1*l.* 15*s.* medium-price of wheat for those three years, to the amount of 455,000 *l.* sterling, or 10.465000 livres.

It is obvious then, that for those five years, that sum of 7.405,786*l.* sterl. was so much loss to other nations in the balance of Trade, and so much clear gain to the enrichment of England. To this sum ought to be added the freight of those grains payed almost wholly to England alone: for upon the total of those exports for five years, the quantity shipped off upon foreign bottoms, does not amount to 45,887 quarters. This freight may be estimated at 663,650*l.* sterl. (or 14.573,950 livres) at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ per quarter. But to conceive the whole extent of the advantages of these exports, the number of men ought to be calculated, that these 5.289847 quarters had employed in England, in the cultivation, the carriage of them to the sea, the purchase and sale of them within the kingdom, the building, and fitting out the vessels which exported them,

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them, the number of subjects who made their livelyhood out of supplying the wants of those others, in short, all that these men paid to the State in taxes for what they consumed: and then follows this consideration, that the employ, and charges of these english subjects have been paid by the countries who through their wants were obliged to apply to them, whilst the same number of subjects in those countries, stood in need of those occasions of employ, which they procured, or were the causes of elsewhere.

It is the year 1689, which may be termed the epoch of the growth of rich harvests to England, for which she stands indebted to that wise disposition of the legislature, which instituted a bounty on the exportation of grain upon english bottoms. ||

This

|| By acts of the 1st year of William and Mary, 5th of Queen Anne, 3d of George II. was granted a bounty as follows per Quarter, (about 24 bushels, Paris measure.

Not exceeding the price of				Bounty.
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Upon Wheat	—	2	8	5 0
Rye	—	1	12	3 6
Barley	—	1	4	2 6
				Upon

This method, always attended with success in the cases in which it was practised, has nevertheless met with gainsayers amongst the manufacturers, and traders: their objection is, that the giving five shillings per quarter on corn exported, is as much as to raise the price of it at our own markets.

	Not exceeding the price of			Bounty.	
	l.	s.		s.	d.
Upon Barley-malt	1	4	—	2	6
Wheat-malt	2	8	—	5	0
Oatmeal	0	15	—	2	6
By the Tun, (or 500 Paris pints) on spirits distilled from Barley-malt and Barley, being at - - - -	r	4	—	r	0

The said bounty payable only when the export is made on english bottoms, the master and crew to be at least two thirds British subjects, does not take place on the corn exported for Alderney, Jersey and Guernsey. It is payable in every port on furnishing a certificate of the export by the receivers of the customs, or for want of funds, by the receiver general, within three months. These last years, in which the exportation was considerable, the customs were in arrear of payment of the bounty, which in 1748, as well as 1749, exceeded 200,000 l. sterling, (or 4.600000 livres) and in 1750, amounted to 325,405 l. sterling, (7.484315 livres) and, upon the demand of the exporters, the Parliament allowed them, in its sixth session, the interest of the sums due to them, in an Act of the 14th May 1753.

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markets higher than it would otherwise be, and affords it to the foreign ones, cheaper than it can be afforded at our own, which must lower the price of work amongst foreigners, and render ours the dearer: this is the sum of the charge brought against the bounty.

Experience, is the best answer that can be made to such an objection: and experience demonstrates that the bounty has lowered the price of corn.

The intention of this bounty being to encourage cultivation, by favoring the exportation of a superfluity, it seems that to find the course of the corn, to which the bounty should be due, it was only necessary to examine what the price of corn was, when it was only in a sufficient quantity to answer the demands of the annual subsistence, or to provide against the contingency of a bad harvest. This was found in the average-price of the years which preceded 1689: since before that time, England exported but little corn, and was sometimes obliged to get it from foreign countries: and the average-price of the 43 years preceding 1689, having been found to be 2*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* per quarter of wheat, they fixed even beneath that price-current, the contingency of the bounty: that

that is to say, at 2*l.* 8*s.* But since 1689, the average-price for 64 years, finishing at 1752, has been no more than 2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* which has been a fall of 3*s.* 2*d.* per quarter. Now this diminution of price can only be attributed to the encrease of cultivation, which could only be operated by the bounty : and this stands confirmed by the comparison of the state of the price of corn, with the state of the bounty, from the years 1746 to 1750.

Years	Bounty. <i>l.</i> sterl.	Average price of wheat, per quarter
1746	99,385	1 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i>
1748	202,637	1 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i>
1749	228,566	1 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i>
1750	325,405	1 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>

By which may be seen, that in those years in which the sum of the bounty, and consequently of the exports, was the largest, the price of corn was the lowest.

The average price of corn, above-quoted, was taken from the course of the market-price for grains at Windsor, exactly noted by the reverend Bishop Fleetwood, from the year 1646 to 1706, and continued to 1752. The average price of
corn

corn of each year is formed out of the two price-currents on Lady-Day and Michaelmas.

The effect of this bounty is not to lower the price of corn abroad in favor of the foreign markets, but is a necessary expedient to enable us to carry our corn to sale at them, on a par of price with Poland, Denmark, Hamburgh, Africa, Sicily, and even with our own colonies, who furnish Spain, Portugal, and Ireland itself cheaper than we can : In short, it is giving our laborers a bounty of 200,000*l.* a year, that England may gain 1500,000*l.* sterling, which, without that, it would certainly not have.

Generally speaking, a bounty is the only way that can be effectually employed to preserve to us our competition in all those branches of commerce, in which foreigners can undersell us. This is what has made the author of the *British Merchant* advance, that we should be obliged to establish a bounty even on the exportation of our wool, if England should become a province of France, and that France could bring her wool to be cheaper than ours : a proposition which is exactly true, with a salvo for the indecency of the first of the

the suppositions on which it is founded, and for the little probability there is of the second.

Another most inestimable effect of this bounty is that of tempting, by the cheapness of our corn, other countries, which, like France, might do without it, and of its discouraging in them the cultivation of their land. Without doubt, was the price of corn to rise, it would prove a warning for them to addict themselves to agriculture, and necessity would oblige them to substitute industry to that indolence of theirs which is so advantageous to us. * What a fall then would there be in the value of our lands, if our corn was left on our hands without demand, through other countries not wanting it, and our wool without price, as it actually is, through the prohibition of its export? Such an event is doubtless disagreeable to foresee: yet is it a more natural state of things than the present one, and perhaps not so remote as may be imagined.

The advantages which the cultivation of

* Sir Thomas Colepepper in 1621 complained that the French imported such considerable quantities of corn, and at so low a rate, that the english corn could not, even in our own markets, support a competition with them.

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of our land has derived from this bounty are not to be denied. It has changed the face of England: Commons, either ill, or not at all cultivated, dry, or deserted pastures, are become, by means of hedges, wherewith they have been enclosed or separated, fertile fields, and rich meadows. This bounty of five shillings per quarter has been employed by the farmer in clearing, and manuring his ground. This bounty it is which has been the true teacher to England of the art of cultivation. Our antient writers, on this subject, were not so well skilled in it as our moderns, because they had not seen the experiments which this encouragement has made be attempted. They had however some glimpse of notion of the advantages which might result from clearing the land, and from enclosures and other improvements: but it was a bounty alone that could operate this change, because that alone could furnish the means of it. In fine, since 1689, there has not a year elapsed, in which the Parliament has not passed fifteen or twenty private acts for grants to enclose, and fence in Commons; and universal experience has shewn, that lands thus rendered valuable, have doubled their income: this melioration could not either be a contemptible

temptible object for England, since of the forty millions of acres it contains, it is estimated that one third of them was in commons: and what is yet remaining so of them, confirms that this computation was not exaggerated.

Cultivation could not encrease, without employing more horses, oxen, and sheep, for the tillage, and manure of the grounds. Thence that augmentation of wealth in cattle, which is so valuable in many respects.

Population has encreased together with the culture of the lands: the labor of enclosing them, has employed and maintained a great number of men: those late desert wastes of country now see habitations on them, and villages have sensibly multiplied.

The ports and little towns of our sea-coast have experienced a proportional encrease in the number of their shipping, and so much the greater, for that grain takes up large stowage-room. The growing number of sailors has greatly facilitated the establishment of fisheries upon our coast, which are yet susceptible of farther advancement.

Various consumptions have encreased in proportion to the number of men, and
the

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the accessions of wealth. They have repaid with interest to the State the expence of the bounty.

The State of the Exports shews us, that all the provinces of England have partaken of the benefit of this bounty, and this advantage could not have obtained so equal a repartition, unless in a peninsula, of which all the parts are at just distances from the sea: a happy disposition, to which it also owes an easy communication, and ready help both by sea and land from one province to another, and which maintains, throughout the whole extent of its continent, the plenty, and price of its productions in a favorable equilibrium.

One might push ad infinitum a calculation of the particular advantages resulting from a Good which has produced in lands, in cattle, in men so many valuables, which were not before in existence. Cultivation then is the greatest of all Goods, and the laws which protect and augment it the wisest of all laws.

Let us then leave to other nations all uneasiness about the means of escaping famine; let us observe them suffering a dearth of provisions, amidst all the projects they form to preserve themselves from

from it: We have, in a much more obvious, plain way, found the secret to enjoy, in tranquility, and abundance, one of the first capital necessities of life: more happy in that than our ancestors, we no longer experience those excessive and sudden alterations in the price of corn, always caused more by the fear than by the reality of a dearth: a fear which often advances and augments the horrors of it. In place of vast and numerous granaries, provided for resources in time of need, we have vast plains, pregnant with future crops, the produce of which is annually renewed and increased. Our cultivation, and harvests, are become unlimitable, from the time that our laborers have been secure of a certain consumption, at home, and abroad.

Thus, in our days, England without trouble, or ruinous expence, has discovered on the surface of the land a new mine, of more pretious possession, and more intrinsic value than those of America. England is that wise nation, which has made the best choice. Spain, in the midst of her treasures, represents not amiss that King, in the Fable, whom Bacchus had favored with the gift of converting every thing he touched to gold.

Of WOOL and CATTLE in general.

England owes to the temperature of its climate, and the nature of it's soil, the excellent quality of its wool: for the abundance of it, she is obliged to the accidental distribution of its land, which has naturally invited the inhabitants to keep great flocks and herds of all sorts of cattle.

About the year 830, the Saxons having compleated the conquest of England, with the help of an irruption of several petty nations from the north of Germany, the lands were divided amongst the generals, and chieftains of those different nations, and they reserved to themselves a part, and distributed the rest between their soldiers, and the natives who remained in small number. The country already dispeopled became more so afterwards, by the ravages of the Danes. The inhabitants of the island were not sufficient to the labor but of a small part of the lands: the rest remained waste, in desarts, or in pastures, forests, the most part without proprietors, and without repartition.

Every lord bestowed on those who held lands of him, a right of pasture on those uncultivated tracts, for the cattle employed
in

in their husbandry, such as horses, oxen, sheep: some tenants, some villages, or towns appropriated to themselves a right in neighbouring lands, by conveniency, and prescription. Even when William the Conqueror seized on the forrests of the kingdom to his own use, and behoof, and attributed to himself the exclusive prerogative of the chase in them, which he need but have shared with the nobility, and people, he did not take the right of pasture from the neighbouring inhabitants, whose all of property consisted in cattle.

Such is the most general origin of the rights to commons, perpetuated to our days; rights so consecrated by antient custom, that they have caused the keeping vast plains in waste. The forrests destroyed by felling, by neglect, by iron-mines, are themselves become vast tracts of land, for the most part uncultivated, under the names of commons, and which could not be discommoned but by virtue of acts of Parliament. There remained then no other means of making any thing of them, but pasture-ground for numerous flocks, and these were for a long time all the wealth, and industry of the nation. Such extensive tracts were not only thus allotted to pasture, but there was yet
another

another provision for it, within the limits of the parks, which the lords had reserved to themselves for their hunting, their deer, and their cattle.

The English did not at first know the extent, and value of their possessions: all they thought of was, to make food of the flesh of their cattle, and to cloath themselves from the fleece of their sheep. For a long time they sold their wool to the Dutch and Flemings, who then alone had manufactures. *Defoe* says, that under Edward III. † the exports of our wool amounted to ten million sterling, of our present currency. (230 millions of livres)

Some english refugees, during the wars of the two Roses, in the States of the Duke of Burgundy which were full of manufactures, carried back with them, at their return to England in the fifteenth century, the first knowledge of them; they were favored by Henry VII. but did not acquire a solid establishment till under the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose care secured to them that continual success they have had to our days. Then it was that the exportation of our wool was seriously prohibited, and under the most
severe

† Between 1327 and 1377.

severe penalties. All the preceding ordinances with regard to wool had been nothing more than ways and means of the revenue, employed by our Kings in their exigencies.

Industry soon opened the eyes of the English on all the advantages that were to be obtained from their different kinds of cattle ||. The victualment from them came to be reckoned amongst the smallest emoluments, and even that encreased with the species. Before that time, no condition was scarce known but the lazy one of shepherds, or herdsmen, little favorable to the employ, or propagation of men. Manufactures and arts encreased the numbers of subjects: the lands required a greater cultivation, and waste lands were cleared, and improved. But they soon perceived to what disadvantages a cultivation, in common, was lyable. They began to enclose their grounds, to obtain the greater produce from them. Since that time tillage, and pasturage, have been carried to a perfection unknown to former times. The different kinds of cattle, that of sheep especially, have been meliorated to the utmost, by a study of the food that

E is

|| As hides, salt meats, butter, cheese, tallow, &c.

is properest for them, and by a mixture of their breed.

At first some opposition was made to the enclosing of commons, under pretext that the tillage of them would diminish the number of sheep; but such is the effect of a good cultivation, that such an acre, as before produced only six bushels of corn, has yielded twenty, and an acre of pasture-ground, well prepared, has fed double the number of sheep that it used to do.

England then possesses, in the greatest abundance, the properest wool for the fabric of all sorts of stuffs, excepting only the superfine cloth, which she cannot well manufacture without the help of spanish wool. Amongst our shorter sorts of wool, the beautyfulest is that of Cotteswold in Gloucestershire: as the finest, and nearest approaching to that of Spain, are those of Herefordshire, Worcester, &c.

Our long wools for combing, are the most in request with other nations for their length, and fineness. Amongst these, the most renowned are those of Warwick, Northampton, Lincoln, Durham, Romney-marshes, but those on the South of the Marshes of Lincolnshire and Leicester, carry the name above all for their length,
fineness,

fineness, softness and gloss. These wools are employed concurrently with those of Ireland in shaloons, serges, camlets, calimancoes, and other stuffs without number, which are for the most part imitated, at Amiens, Abbeville, Lisle, in France; at Brussels; in Holland, at Harlem, and in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, and Leyden.

They are also employed together with the carded wools in the make of bays, druggets, flannels, &c. They are likewise mixed with cotton, and silk, in several stuffs, as alupeens, bombazines, crapes, &c.

Amongst the different sorts of our sheep, the horned ones of the least size are esteemed the best for giving a cherishing warmth to the grounds from the abundance of salts contained in their excrements. Their flesh is not so extraordinary no more than their wool.

The larger sized sheep yield from five to eight pounds of wool per fleece; some of these sheep, besides the long wool they bear, afford a short and fine wool, but in small quantities, which is mixed with the spanish wool, in the woof, to bind it the stronger. The largest sheep, and of which the weathers are the most esteemed, are in Lincolnshire, in a place called Holland;

also in Leicester and Rumney. Weathers of this sort have been sold as high as twelve guineas.

For example of the abundance of sheep, it is commonly computed that the salt-marshes of Rumney contain forty-four thousand acres, and one hundred and thirty-two thousand sheep, which is at the rate of three sheep per acre. It is reckoned that Dorsetshire maintains six hundred thousand sheep in a circle of twelve miles diameter.

Such numerous flocks, to say nothing of cattle of other kinds, could not doubtless be gathered under covered folds, without a great expence: and therefore, in most provinces in England, they are not put under shelter, and the mildness of the generally tolerable winters has allowed it. In some parts however they have conveniencies to shelter them, and it is pretended that the wool is the better for it. It is certain that in the provinces the most subject to cold, such as the northern ones nearest to Scotland, to protect in some sort the sheep from the severity of the winters, they are obliged, as it were, to *embalm* them, that is to say, to smear them from head to foot with a composition of tar, tallow, &c. boiled together: but besides,

sides, that this precaution does not hinder numbers of them from dying of cold, or the rot, this composition spoils the wool strangely, which does not easily recover its purity from it.

Those provinces the least proper for feeding sheep, and other cattle, have been willing to procure to themselves this advantage which nature had refused them : they made pastures in dry and sandy soils by sowing trefoil and clover. They made turnips supply the place of grass, where the winter had caused a scarcity of it ; and brought their sheep to feed on turnips, in such fields as they wanted to have warmed, and manured by their presence on them : so susceptible of perfection is agriculture, and so powerful an incitement to encrease industry, is a certainty of consumption.

But such great advantages could not be enjoyed without disquiet, and we might well expect that other nations would use their endeavours to come in for a share of them with us. Holland, Flanders, and France above all, our most formidable rival in our manufactures, furnish themselves from us, with arms against ourselves. Our wool is drawn thither and preferably employed. Our prohibition of

exportation has not had all the effect we might expect from it. True it is, we may thank for it the mistaken policy of forbidding absolutely the importation of irish wool into England. What now could Ireland, without manufactures, make of its wool, but to sell it to foreigners notwithstanding the prohibition? We then indeed opened some of our ports to the irish wool: but they had already tasted the sweets of that counterband: and all our guard-vessels since have vainly endeavored to interrupt the course of it.

Every session of Parliament is attended with complaints from the manufacturers of the diminution of their trade; sometimes founded on the dearth of materials, and always on the smuggling over of wool, which employed in foreign manufactures, lessens by so much the demand for theirs.

On the other hand, the land owners are ready with their complaints of the low price, at which the prohibition of exporting it keeps the wool: they pretend too, that this low price it is, which causes the counter-band carried on of it.

It is difficult to pronounce upon this point, which of the two sides has most reason to complain: unless one was to be deter-

determined by the general prejudice, which is against the manufacturers: for I never heard of a complaint, or petition from them against the land-owners, which was not sovereignly unreasonable.

It does not to me appear less difficult to find a satisfactory remedy for an evil of which there is no dissembling to one self the reality: but to ascertain the just extent of it, one should be sure of the truth of what is advanced, that the foreign nations cannot absolutely do without our wools in the greatest parts of their stuffs. Should that be really the case; the carrying our wool abroad is an irreparable detriment to England. But the Evil would not be so considerable if, as others averr, the foreigners can substitutionally mix the spanish wool with their own, for want of our finest sorts: and if besides they have qualities of wool, like to ours: which I can take upon me to say with certainty that they have.

As to France, for example, I cannot say what quantity she employs of our wools of a superior quality to those of her own growth: but I can positively affirm, that I have seen there some of our common sorts of wool, which the want of quantity of their own, and not of quality,

obliged them to employ. The english wools have yielded to the smuggler of them a profit of fifty per cent. and yet did not exceed in price, those of the wools in France, of the same quality. This fact clearly verified explains to us why our wool is carried thither. The abundance of our wool at home, keeps it at a price beneath the real value, in our markets: whilst the scarcity of it in France holds it up there a great deal above it.

Doubtless then, there must exist, in France, some powerful reason of defect, oppugnant to the multiplication of that fleecy species, whereby the wool is wanting, whilst the manufactures of it are in vigor, and afford good encouragement to the workmen. With us, we have the very contrary inconvenience to complain of. One would think nothing could discourage the breeding of sheep; it has proceeded encreasing in despite of the most rigorous prohibition of exporting their wool. The flesh of them, and the manure with which they fertilize our lands, must afford them a profit of it self sufficient to the farmer. Our manufactures are more than ever employed, but they could not encrease in proportion to the quantity of our wool. What then must have become of the super-

superfluity? It has more and more fallen the price of the wool, and determined the course of it more violently into the foreign markets.

Such, in truth, is our present condition in that respect. Our wool, from its overabundance has been always under the price of that in other countries, as may be certified by a comparison with the price-current of wool at Amsterdam, the greatest Staple in the Universe. Yet, since the peace, the price of it has been raised.

In 1750, and 1751, the finest long-wool of Lincolnshire has been sold, at an average-price for sixteen pence (31 sols) the pound, which is twenty per cent. more than formerly; and this enhancement is the true foundation of the manufacturers complaints: their private interest is their sole aim, whilst they insist, as they have long insisted in their request, for opening all the ports of England without exception to the irish wool in fleece, or in yarn, their pretext is, that it is the only expedient for stopping the export of the irish wool to foreign countries.

The Land-owners, who foresee that this encreased importation of the irish wool into England, must yet lower the price of theirs, oppose to this, that it is in vain

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to open all the markets of England to Ireland, whilst the price of wool shall be still infinitely lower in England than in the markets abroad: that besides, this liberty granted to the Irish small-craft to hover all over the coast of England, will, in so extensive a career, open to their counterband an infinite number of ways, or outlets, which the guard-vessels will be less able to shut up, than when those wool-vessels had no free passage, but in the western seas of England, which had Biddiford, Liverpool, and Bristol for boundaries.

Some there are amongst these last who propose the taking off the prohibition of the exportation of english wool, and pretend that thereby, that commodity being brought nearer the level of the common price in the other markets of Europe, then a well calculated duty on the exportation might hinder, or at least lessen the carriage of it abroad, more effectually than the prohibition.

Amidst these different opinions, dictated by contrary interests, I will hazard my disinterested sentiments.

It is for England a very valuable advantage, that of having its wool at 4c, 50, and 60 per cent. cheaper than other countries,

countries, quality for quality. It is that alone which can in some measure compensate for the high price of work in it, often 30 per cent. dearer than abroad. The abundance then of its wool can alone keep it at so low a price; if the lowness of the price occasions it to be smuggled over to foreign markets, it can be only the superfluous part of it. What those markets extract by this means from us, I am convinced, is for the most part, for want of quantity of their own, which they might procure of their own fund, and growth. This exportation diminishes then, in other countries, the multiplication of their sheep, more than it diminishes the work of our manufactures: The proof of which is, that in those years, in which the wool has born the lowest price, and doubtless the exportation of it been, in consequence, the greater, the exportation of our woollen stuffs has been found commonly the greatest, according to the extracts from the custom-house books.

We ought then to guard against all the means which might enhance the price of our wool; and, at the same time, we ought to render the smuggling of it more difficult, that it may bear the higher price in foreign markets. We ought to open

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all our ports to the irish wool, raw or wrought; the point of time is favorable to it, since our own wool has risen twenty per cent. Our guard vessels, on station, should at the same time redouble their vigilance, for preventing any of the irish craft slipping by them, into foreign ports. I will not answer that this liberty of importation will absolutely put an end to the irish counterband: it was easier to hinder its getting footing, than it will be to destroy it.

As to the general prohibition of exporting english wool, it ought to be forever continued, because that alone it is, which can preserve to us the inestimable advantage of having the best wool at so much a lower price than the other markets of Europe, and that of selling our superfluity of it to foreigners at the highest price of their markets.

Of the INTERNAL RICHES of the EARTH:
METALS, MARL, POTTER'S-EARTH,
COALS, &c.

Amongst the various treasures which the earth contains in its bosom, gold and silver are neither the first, nor the most desirable riches: gold and silver have reduced to a most deplorable slavery their
natural

natural possessors, and the masters of those slaves, and of their treasures, are not become the more powerful for them: one would think that from that instant the Spaniards had lost all spirit of industry, all aptitude for work, as a laborer who should find a treasure in his field, would quit his plough for ever. If England possesses any of those fatal mines, it is to be wished they may remain for ever unknown to it.

England ought to set a greater value on the other liberalities of nature to it: on the iron-mines in most of its provinces, as well as in Ireland: the copper ones in Staffordshire, Lancashire, Cornwall, &c. the leaden ones in abundance in the northern and western provinces, as well as in Scotland: the tin ones in Devonshire and Cornwall.

But the mines of which England ought chiefly to boast, either from her possessing them in greater plenty than any other nation, or from her excelling them all in the use she makes of them, are

The MARL, of which she possesses so many different sorts, that there is no kind of land she cannot fertilize by means of them. The experiences she has made of them, since the instoration of agriculture, are

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are without number, and the success of them is daily extending; as for example, in the county of Norfolk.

Her FULLER'S EARTH, so valuable for the dressing her woollen-stuffs, that the exportation of it has been forbidden, under the same penalties, as that of her wool: this earth, the perfectest of all, and such as neither Holland, nor France possess any like it, deserves a particular description.

It is found near Ryegate in Surrey, near Maidstone in the county of Kent, near Nutley in Sussex, near Wooburn in Bedfordshire, near Brickhill in Staffordshire, in the isle of Sky in Scotland.

I have seen it dug for between Brickill and Wooburn, in a great heath, that extends over several hillocks that are full of it. The hole at top was a broad opening, hollowed downwards in form of an inverted cone, for the prop of the earth, and upon the side of one of those * hillocks, so as to let one see the color, and thickness of the several beds of sand, under which lay the fuller's-earth, about fifty or sixty foot deep from the surface of the aperture. The ground of this surface,
which

* In the county of Surrey, the earth is hollowed into pits like wells; of which the sides are supported like those of the coal mines.

which appeared to me to have been formerly cultivated, was of poor, and cinder-colored mold, from five or six inches to a foot deep; beneath which was a layer, or *stratum* of a fine reddish yellow sand, about nine or ten foot thick; after which, for thirty or forty foot, were several *strata* of white and grey sand, of various consistences, mixed with reddish streaks of the color of those veins in iron-mines: lower there was a *stratum* of from two to three foot of greasy sand mixed with reddish earth and veins: then a foot's depth of earth, moderately unctuous; lastly the earth perfectly fat, and pure for about seven to eight foot. This bank of earth distinguished into different *strata*, by horizontal crevices about a foot and a half from one another; the situation of these banks upon an horizontal plan, and very equal, form a regular disposition, which commonly in all sorts of beds, or *strata* of earths, or mines, indicates a great extent of them. Near, and round the mouth of the pit, are some chalk-hills fit to make mortar of: the ground above is about five or six inches thick, some part of it is cultivated, and yields a good enough produce. The workmen employed in digging for this earth, with a pick-ax, earn about

ten

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ten pence a day (19 sols) two men only are sufficient to dig, and load a cart with a thousand weight in one day : which load taken on the spot is commonly valued at 4 shillings (or 4 livres and 12 sols.)

This earth itself is of a greenish gray, the color of which fades in the air : the consistence of it is moderately firm, easily divided into pieces by the pick-ax : as it dries, it becomes as hard as castile-soap, its quality unctuous, and full of nitre. It does not dissolve in water, unless it is well stirred ; the sediment formed from it, when it is dried, is soft and greasy to the touch, very friable, and may be reduced between the fingers into an almost impalpable powder, that seems to lose itself in the pores of the skin, without any appearance of sand, &c. This powder viewed with a microscope is dull-colored, opaque, and has not the glitter of sandy particles : qualities that render it so fit to insinuate itself into the pores of the wool, and to absorb its grease, without offending the web of the stuff in the most violent frictions of it.

The POTTERS-EARTH, fit to make tobacco pipes, &c. has the same properties, but rarely in the same perfection, being subject to be mixed with particles of sand. In
the

the pit, it is greenish, soft to the touch, and slippery like soap. The perfectest sort is found in Northamptonshire; also near Poole in Dorsetshire, and in the isle of Wight; and is sold in London to twenty shillings the Ton. The exportation of it is also prohibited.

COALS. Their substitution to wood in almost all the uses for which fire is necessary, naturally starts the question; what has England gained by the change? She has certainly gained, at least that immense track of land before covered by those forrests which furnished their consumption in firing. In place then of those woods, not very favorable to the encrease of people, from the small number of men they employ, she now possesses fertile fields, and rich pasturages: and the corn and wool she obtains from them, are so much clear gain to her.

Those forrests, though vast and numerous, in the reign of William the Conqueror, the most part of them without masters, and then become Crown lands; those commons free for cattle, without other laws adapted or belonging to them, than what were relative to the preservation of the game, had nothing to expect from time, and consumption, but a necessary

cessary destruction, in the midst of a country, where the rest of the lands were open, and in common for the most part, without fences, or liberty to enclose them.

The working of the different mines, and especially those of iron, in the counties of Warwick, Stafford, Worcester, Monmouth, Shropshire, and Sussex, have forwarded nearly the total ruin of the woods. Their exorbitant price first gave warning of their scarcity, and of the necessity of preserving what remained, for the sake of the shipping, and buildings. In these circumstances the Coal-mines, spread over England and Scotland, have stood in great stead: for Ireland itself, which was formerly as well as England, abounding in oaks the most esteemed for ship-building, has been at the same time, and for the same reasons so exhausted of them, as to be reduced to get all its timber for building from Norway, England, and elsewhere, likewise bark for tanning; nay has been obliged to sell hides in the raw to Holland, Germany, and Flanders, through want of materials at home to tan them.

The mines, and chiefly those of iron, for which the coal-fire is too slow, have felt the scarcity of wood. We draw annually

nually from Sweden for above 200,000 $\text{\textsterling}$ (or 4,600,000 livres) of iron bars, without reckoning the steel. It were then to be wished that the mines of our colonies were encouraged enough to enable them to supply the three kingdoms with what they want, in fows of iron specifically.

The abundance of wood in those countries renders the thing possible, and this operation would produce a double advantage, in extending the clearance of those lands, and making that country more healthful: but as our wood would not be sufficient to reduce those fows into bars, and other forms of iron work, it would be fitting to propose a recompence for whoever should discover the secret of making as cheap, as we get it from abroad, the iron into bars, with a coal fire, either by mixing different sorts together, or joining to it a portion of wood-coal only, by which means one might at once prevent the destruction of the forrests, and the damage arising to those subjects, whose estates consist in mines, and woods.

Then would the use of coals extend to all our wants, for our buildings, mines, glass-works, brick-kilns, salt-pans, refineries, breweries, &c. As there are different
sorts

sorts of coal, one might choose that which is the fittest for the employ designed for it. It may by fire be purged of the bitumen, and sulphur, in its composition, so that losing to two thirds of its weight, and very little of its volume, it remains a combustible substance, † but freed from the particles which exhale that disagreeable and inconvenient smook which is objected to it. Derby is the first town which substituted to straw, the use of this half-consumed coal, to dry malt, which has given to its ale that whiteness and mildness, for which it is so esteemed. It ought also to be used in those kilns designed for drying any corn suspected of damp, on the point of shipping it off.

But England has gathered from this natural wealth, by her manner of enjoying it, an advantage far superior to the possession itself. Three of her ports, that lie nearest to her principal coal-mines, Whitehaven, Newcastle, and Swansea in Wales, are becomes the magazines from which England and Ireland draw their consumption: Newcastle furnishes all the Eastern coast, as low as Portsmouth; Swansea the Western coast to Devonshire, and parts adjacent;

† Cinders.

adjacent; and Whitehaven, Ireland. This single branch of commerce does not employ less than fifteen hundred vessels, from a hundred to two hundred tons, and keeps up a body of seamen, reputed the ablest of their profession, who on pressing occasions form a ready, and always sure resource. || The Thames alone distributes the coals it receives through London, and nine provinces: the other rivers that run into the sea, serve respectively in proportion to each of their course. Other mines near London have not been suffered to be opened, for fear of diminishing that branch of maritime commerce, the school of sailors, and nursery for the english navy, which is the true bulwark and glory of the nation. Riches thus multiplied have deserved to those mines the appellation of *the black Indies*.

Of FISHERIES.

Amongst the different fish, with which nature has enriched our waters, the salmon
of

|| If to this article is added the number of vessels employed in the water-carriage of butter, cheese, corn, fullers-earth, salt, &c. there will be found, upon a moderate calculation, above a hundred thousand sailors for the coast-trade of England alone, from port to port.

of Berwick and Newcastle, the Colchester oysters, the Yarmouth and Lowestoff herrings, hold the most considerable rank: but one would think that, as if contented with our other articles of wealth, we had not thought of improving this advantage beyond our home-consumption.

The Scotch were the first, and sole possessors of the herring-fishery: this fish descends by Shetland to their coasts, and from thence to ours. The Dutch then pretended no other right to it, than that of buying the fish of them, to sell it again.

The first act we have concerning this fishery, is in the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward III. 1341, which recapitulates several wise dispositions made by his grandfather in this point. It is easy to discover, by a comparison of this Act with the Statutes of the Dutch, that these have profited from it. Their fishery at Enchuyfen did not begin to be in any reputation till the year 1416, or at most in 1397, that they found out the secret of curing, and barrelling them.

Their commerce having since then increased, their fishery grew too limited upon their own coasts, and they soon extended it to ours, and we very quietly saw

saw them establish the casts of their nets upon our own proper fisheries. So early as the year 1610, Sir Walter Raleigh gives an account, which was not falsified by that of John de Witte, of the trade they drove to Russia, Germany, Flanders and France, in herrings caught on the english, scotch, and irish coasts, to the yearly amount of 2,659,000 l. sterl. (61,157,000 livres) This single article, so early as in those days, employed three thousand vessels or *busses*, in that fishery, and fifty thousand fishermen, without reckoning nine thousand other ships, or small craft, and one hundred and fifty thousand men employed in the commerce of this fish, and in other branches of trade which this fishery occasioned.

Our indolence has suffered these people to enjoy our own property, and to enrich themselves, at our expence, to above the amount of an hundred millions sterling. Nor is it but since this epoch that the naval force of Holland ever made any figure. Even now, that her power has received such great blows, that branch of her commerce is of all others that which has suffered the least.

A state of their herring-fishery in 1748, represents a thousand vessels employed from

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from 70 to 100 tons, and estimated 85 tons at an average: the total of their fishery, computed at 85,000 Last*, at 20 l. sterling per Last, }
is ————— } 1,700,000 l. sterl.

Deduct for the fitting }
out and building the } 850,000
1000 busses, costs, }
charges, and risks } —————

Neat profit per annum 850,000

If you add the profit }
of the cod-fishery col- } 150,000
laterally carried on } —————
Makes 1,000,000 l. sterl.

Fishermen, 14 per each }
buss ————— } 14,000 men

Men employed on the }
occasion of the fi- } 86,000
shery ————— } —————

Men — 100,000

Hitherto our efforts have been either weak, or unsuccessful, in all the attempts we have made towards recovering advantages too long neglected, and abandoned. When we have set up our pretensions, in opposition to the Dutch, of an exclusive right

* Last is 2 tons.

right of fishing on our own coasts, † a right as incontestable as that of reaping alone the harvest of our own fields: what has been the effect of our remonstrances, and our pretensions? Two great and learned treatises on the Dominion of the Sea were written by Selden, and Grotius; the question has remained undecided, and the Dutch have continued in possession.

In the mean time, there has a new Company formed itself, for the herring-fishery, in virtue of an act of Parliament, but its projects, and even its progress, show that this establishment is in its infancy. It is proposed to open a new market for our herrings in our colonies. They have given out three prizes of 15, 20, and 30*l*. sterling for those buffes which shall have made the greatest take of fish. They value themselves on having this year expended three thousand pounds sterling in nets: they propose sending next year sixty buffes, and three thousand men on the herring, and whale fisheries, whilst but the last September, there were counted above five hundred foreign vessels fishing on the coasts of Yarmouth, whilst even french fishermen came thither to disturb our own.

F : What

† Under Charles I.

What signifies our having the most powerful marine in the universe? What signifies maintaining at so great an expence two hundred men of war, mounted with ten thousand guns, if we are not even masters enough to fish freely on our own proper coasts, and if we are disturbed on them, by who? by such as have not the least right to interfere on them.

It was towards the year 1597, that the English having discovered the isle of Spiltsbergen in Greenland, were the first who durst attempt the fishing for the whales they had observed in those seas: they were quiet possessors of this trade till 1612, that the Dutch, according to their laudable custom, came to fish on those very coasts, with some english fishermen whom they had inveigled over to them for that purpose. They were at first molested: but in 1617, having returned in force, they revenged themselves, by taking an english ship with her lading from that fishery, and the English suffered it: This matter of right to the fishery was treated of between the two nations, nothing was decided, and the fishery was continued on both sides, upon the coasts of the said island: soon after, the Danes, the Ham-burghers, the French, the Spaniards, croud-
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ed thither to come in for their share of advantage in this fishery ; the whales quit-
ted those parts, our establishments on those
islands became of no use, and the fishery
was almost entirely deserted by us.

In the mean time, we buy of the Dutch
our whalebone and train oil : our wants
have produced with us no other than tardy
or too weak efforts : we are to this day
under a necessity of proposing præmiums
for the encouragement of this fishery.
Within these five or six years there have
been from eight to ten ships fitted out
from Edinburgh ; whilst in 1675 to 1721
the Dutch sent thither 6995 vessels, which
took 32,908 whales, and the fishery was
worth to them fourteen millions sterling
(322 millions of livres.)

In short, that we might be able to boast
that foreigners held from us their greatest
fisheries, either by usurpation, or conces-
sion, not contented with having given up
to the French a duty of 5 per cent. to
which they had submitted, in order to ob-
tain the permission of fishing for cod, we
have left them, by the 13th article of the
Treaty of Utrecht, the liberty of fishing
upon the coasts of Newfoundland ; we
have ceded to them the island of Cape-
Breton,

Breton, a fishery quite new, in exchange for that of Newfoundland, which was exhausted, || we have permitted them to fish, and cure their fish upon our island, without reserving to ourselves the same privilege at Cape-Breton.

Our blindness is equal to our weakness: Nations, friends and enemies to us, have we suffered to enrich themselves at our expence, as if we were ignorant that the fisheries are the nurseries of seamen, and that that Power which has the most numerous marine employed in the fishing-craft, must virtually have at the same time the most formidable Marine.

|| Neither in History, nor in any Public-acts, is to be found any mention of this pretended duty of 5 per cent. which is destitute of all probability, since the French have ever fished on the banks of Newfoundland without opposition, or contrary pretention on the part of England.

As to the Island of Cape-Breton, the word *cede* is at least an improper expression, since before, and after the Treaty of Utrecht, the French were in undisputed possession of Cape Breton.

III. ADVANTAGES of GREAT BRITAIN
from the CONSTITUTION of its GOVERNMENT, of all principles the first, and the most fruitful.

AN encrease of People, a flourishing cultivation, a powerful Marine, an extensive trade could not have been established, nor support themselves but with the help of the wisest laws, and of a vigilant Government. In other States, these laws, and this administration may be the work of particular legislators, of different ministers, to whom the Revenue, the Marine, Trade, may be severally committed: in England these so important interests are sure to be treated of and discussed in the general Council of the Nation, represented by its deputies from all its provinces, chosen in every order. Such an assembly must naturally make the wisest laws, and the most conformable to the general interest of the Nation, upon all these objects.

When a whole Nation has before it to decide on the nature of impositions, and the necessary supplies for the charges, and wants of the State; it will certainly choose those taxes which will fall with the most

equality, and consequently with the least weight upon each of its members.

It can never happen that one part of the subjects can exempt itself from the common contribution, by privileges, by immunities annexed to certain professions acquired by money, or usurpation: the subjects, upon whom they would seek to throw a part of the burthen, would have a credit, as well as an interest, in opposing their encroachments.

The land owners, whether noblemen or commoners, of whom some even keep lands in their own hands, will oppose, in Parliament, the establishment of any overburthenfome land-tax, which might raise the price of the produce of the earth, even to the point of stopping the consumption of it.

The merchants, and dealers, will watch from interest, that the overstraining of any taxes on the consumption of commodities, may not carry to an excessive price, the materials, and means of trade.

The states of the imports, and exports, compared with those of the customs of entry, and exportation, will show what is the proportion of those customs, which is best adapted to the advantage of trade:

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the Nation can neither deceive, nor be deceived, since it may annually order those states to be laid before it, in full Parliament.

One single man will not be charged with the weight of the administration of the Revenue, its various operations, its resources upon State-emergencies: projects will not have for ministers, and authors, any particular set, whom a private interest may inspire: it must be the whole Nation that shall imagine them: they must be proposed to the whole nation, and its examination will be the less liable to error.

And as nothing requires more intelligence, nor more particularly affects the national interest, than the just commensuration, and the faithful appropriation of the sums allotted to the necessary expences of the Navy, the Ordinary and Extraordinary of War, and the subsidies payed to foreign countries, it will not be one minister alone, or any set of ministers for each department, that will regulate the sums proper to assign to each of these objects. It will be the Nation itself that will judge of the different requisites: it will not bestow a mistaken preference on one part above another: its forces maintained, by sea, and land, in a just equilibrium,

will not grow out of compass, the one at the expence of the other. The military Marine will not clash with the trading Marine: an exact harmony will result from the impartial distribution of its favors, and protection. In fine, for ascertainment that the sums assigned have been faithfully applied to their destination, the Nation may, at pleasure, demand an account of their expenditure.

There are who find fault with the manifestation to which this form of government exposes our forces, and power to the eyes of foreigners: but this is doubtless only a reason the more, to engage us to be always in such a condition, as not to fear the appearing other than what we really are. Moreover, this publicity of our forces, and revenue, is extreamly advantageous in regard to the body of the Nation. It is the less exposed to be itself deceived with respect to its own condition: the Public credit is the more solid for it, being equally preserved from a false confidence that might ruin it, and from a false diffidence which might disorder, or keep it always weak.

The Merchants demands in the different branches of trade, the encouragement of which any of them may stand in need,
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will be laid before members of Parliament, who are themselves merchants, or who, what is better yet, have left off the being so, and are consequently the more capable to decide without partiality, but with knowledge, in favor of the general interest of trade, and not of the private interest of traders, which may often be in opposition to it.

The Statutes, and regulations necessary for the advancement of the Marine, of the national revenue, of culture, of population, of the employment of individuals, proposed to Parliament, will easily find in a body of above seven hundred members, which compose the two Houses, a number of subjects well-informed in each matter : several particular committees charged with the digesting and modelling the laws, will prevent the slowness, and disorder, unavoidable in the discussion of certain matters in a general Committee. In a free assembly, entitled to decide on such important objects, talents, merit, probity, have a fair stage on which to display themselves, in the fullest light. Emulation, Patriotism, will raise and form great men, in all kinds, give them reputation, and reproduce new subjects every seven years.

It is easy to conceive, to feel the advantage of such a government over the administration of one man for all the parts, or for one part alone. Yet the judgments even of a nation may not be exempt from error : but it will be easier to reform that error, than the error of a single person, because a nation has neither the interest, nor the false pride of defending its errors: besides, a single man is enough to open the eyes of a whole nation, and any one of those seven hundred members has a chance to be that man.

Though the representatives of the nation are renewed every Parliament, its projects for the public welfare will not be limited by a particular season, or by private views : it must have an interest, and activity ever constantly uniform. In short, weakness, ignorance, treachery, or indolence, are faults far less to be presumed in the Council of a nation which governs itself, than in the administration of a single person.

A state of war being the most directly opposite to the happiness of the people, the Nation will think less of extending its conquests, than its trade. The protection of its commerce will be the most natural object of its wars : it must dread the
having

having a king fond of the character of a conqueror, as it must fear its liberty becoming at length one of his conquests. A long peace will not to such a State, be attended with the same inconveniencies, as to those whose constitution is military. If misfortune, or a necessity of circumstances drags the Nation into inevitable wars, at least, ever clear-sighted on its true interests, it will have the power of setting limits to the martial humor of its king, or to the cabals which a minister, or a powerful party may make against a peace.

But so beautifull an harmony may be spoilt by corruption: I say it to our shame, I say it with grief,

Venalis Populus, venalis Curia Patrum.

It is in vain that to guard against the more easy, and less expensive corruption, in case of a perpetual Parliament, the duration of each has been fixed at most for seven years: the King may always buy votes in elections, and suffrages in Parliament: He may attach to himself Lords, whose estates have a right to send several members to Parliament. Commoners, who shall have vigorously defended the rights of the Nation, when called by the King to the House

of Lords, will tye up their tongues, as a price of their new dignity, or will make a shameless prostitution of their eloquence in favor of the Court. But, as it is only with the Nation's money, that the King can purchase, against itself, the votes of its members, ought not that reflexion alone to open its eyes on the danger of granting supplies of wealth to the King, of which the abuse may be so pernicious in his hands? Can it ever be possible that a whole Nation assembled should be so blinded as itself to sell the liberty and property of every subject in it? Or, in short, was the corruption of the members who represent it to arrive at such excesses, would it not then happen, that, by a forced revolution, the Nation would shake off a yoke it could no longer endure, and that from a necessary disorder, the first order of things should take birth again? much, as in the best constituted body, if peccant humors grow to a head with time, the measure of them being come to fulness, the distemper declares itself, breaks out, and the patient can only be saved by a violent crisis.

But to call off my reflexions from this subject, and turn them to a more agreeable one, I shall briefly touch on the effect of
this

this Constitution of our Government, on the Genius and Public-spirit of the Nation.

Of the POWER of our CONSTITUTION in determining the minds of the People towards the Public welfare.

The ambition of arriving at the honor, and distinction which accompany the quality of Member of Parliament, throws into all orders of men a noble emulation, and capable of the greatest effects. Every subject may reasonably aspire to this honor, even to that of sitting in the House of Lords.

The right of giving one's votes at elections, the qualifications for being chosen representatives of Shires, Cities, and Boroughs, are determined according to different Acts, by property respectively; so that whilst a man encreases his fortune, he may encrease the elevation of his pretensions. *

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* Let us forget, for an instant, the abuses of corruption, either in the person of the candidate who bribes his voters, or in the person of him who has a right to give his vote in elections: abuses which will never be remedied, but by fixing at a higher rate, the property of those who have that right of

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A Merchant, a subject in easy circumstances, living on his estate, may be member of Parliament, equally with a Peer of the realm, if he has three hundred, or six hundred pounds sterling a year, to qualify him to be member of a Town, or borough, or to be Knight of the Shire: and shall sit in the House of Commons, with the sons of Peers, who, like him, may be members of that House. This equality it is, fair daughter of Liberty, which can alone preserve to Commerce its honor, and inspire to those who profess it, an esteem for their condition, and a nobility of sentiments which will for ever form the distinctive character of a British Merchant.

The Lords can have no contempt for the usefull professions of their fellow subjects, who are their equals, when assembled to regulate the public affairs of the nation: they will think it no dishonor to reckon amongst their ancestors, merchants, or men in trades, mercers, grocers, brewers, drapers,

of voting: the 40 shillings a year freehold, fixed under Henry VI. were nearly equivalent to 20 l. sterling a year, present currency. This freeholder of 20 l. per annum, would be in a condition, and probably of morals less susceptible of corruption, or at least would sell himself dearer, which would come to the same thing.

drapers, taylors, &c. who have given to their families, names preserved on record, decorated with the dignities of Lord-Mayor, Master of the Rolls, Privy-councillor, Chancellor, Earl, &c. They may themselves enter into trade: their children may be sent to the compting-offices in the City, there to learn commerce, or at least to try to get some rich heiress, either with the consent of her parents, or only with her own, in clandestine marriage.

Thus the trader will not be obliged to seek in other countries for honors, or distinctions: he may become a knight by his Majesty's grace and favor, or by means of money, and that, without renouncing trade, because trade is in honor: thus conditions and ranks will not tend to confusion: the subjects who have deserved well of their country, will receive signal rewards, but those suitable, and conform to the services they shall have rendered, or which are expected from them. The Duke of Marlborough and Gresham† have each a statue; the one raised on a high column in front of a magnificent palace, which it self was a present worthy of the hero, and
of

† A celebrated Merchant in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

of the Nation : the other placed less pompously in the Royal Exchange at London : with this notable difference however, that the statue of the General is erected in the midst of the privacy of a country retreat, sequestered from the eyes of the Nation, in the solitude of an immense park : whilst that of Gresham stands in the midst of his fellow-citizens, as if to show that his example is the most preferable one, and that which the Nation has the greatest interest to multiply.

In a Constitution where every subject has, or imagines that he has, a share in the Government, every subject will, according to his capacity, concern himself in the public affairs. Thence that multitude of writings on all matters that relate to the Public : and which every man may study at the fountain-head, in the collection of Acts of Parliament, that pretious deposite of the wise resolutions of the Nation : it is the subject's universal book : the debates, and discussions of which those laws are often the occasion, are for our Youth, the school of Reason, Liberty, Patriotism. Our greatest geniuses, Bacon, Raleigh, Newton, Locke, Temple, have not disdained to write on Trade, Exchange, Coin, the National Debts, &c.

Child,

Child, Petty, Mun, Davenant, King, Gee, &c. have extended our knowledge of those articles. Upon Agriculture, and Natural History, we have our Evelyns, Bradleys, Millers, Tulls, &c. So many new writings which are every year poured upon us, upon the same matters, and which for the most are only repetitions of the antient ones, are not without effect and utility : they are doubtless bought and read, since they are for ever printing. Knowledge encreases ; even the mechanics gain new lights from them ; they are not with us, as in other countries, mere machines, who give motion to other machines. Some of them even write themselves, in a bad style no doubt, but good things, upon the trade which they respectively exercise with intelligence, and distinction.

In a Government, where every subject may in the General Council of the Nation, either by himself, or supported by some of the members of it, be the author of a general Good ; a great number of subjects will be full of that spirit : several private persons will do things worthy of the Nation itself, and their actions will be directed by the principles of the Public-Good. Great advantages these which our Constitution, in which the Nation watches
for

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for itself, has over an absolute monarchy, in which the Monarch takes upon himself to do every thing, in which the honor of every thing redounds to the Monarch, in which all benefits, all encouragement can come from no one but the Monarch.

It has been said that, with us Britons, our love of our Country, was a desire, or perhaps a pride natural for a nation which governs itself, to take in being happy, or well governed. Be this love of one's Country whatever they please, at least its effects are not doubtfull, and multiply without end in all the countries who have the happiness to live under our Government.

I owe to IRELAND the justice of mentioning her the first. It is at Dublin that the first societies formed themselves, which took for their object, the advancement, and study of trade, of manufactures, and of agriculture. It is also they whose success has been the most eminent; it is to them that are owing the elements of the linnen-manufactury, whose progresses have been so rapid.

This society has not confined itself to this single object: all the arts, all the branches of commerce, and of agriculture, has it embraced: the generosity of the
members

members of it, and of the Public, has furnished it with funds to defray the prizes, which it distributes yearly to the number of fourscore, or an hundred, and to the amount of from 6 to 700*l.* sterl. (or 14 to 16,000 livres.)

For example, there are prizes allotted,
TO him who shall have given the beautifullest dye in scarlet, or any other proposed color, to woollen, cotton, silks, stuffs, &c.

TO him who shall have the made the best carpet, Turkey, or Tournay-fashion.

The best new stuff, after a proposed pattern.

The best drawings for stuffs.

The best porcelain.

The best paper after the Dutch manner.

The best colors for painting.

TO him who shall have invented the most useful machines for manufactures, or agriculture.

TO such masters, or mistresses, who shall have bred the best apprentices in certain trades: as the best cotton- or flax-spinners, &c.

TO him who shall have collected, or sold the most linnen-rags for the paper manufactory.

TO

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TO him who shall have made the most barrels of pitch.

TO him who shall have sown the most acres, above a given number, with turnips, trefoil, flax, &c.

TO him who shall have planted the greatest quantity of willows, and trees of all sorts, &c.

TO him who shall have grown hops of the best quality.

TO him who shall have drained the most acres of marsh-land, and made it valuable.

One private subject alone, Dr. Samuel Madden has consecrated yearly to so laudable an employ from 100 to 150*l.* sterling (about 4000 livres) in different prizes, which, like the precedent ones, are adjudged by the Dublin-Society.

To encourage the emulation of the competitors, they have assigned first, second, and third prizes to each object: an emulation of which the fruitfulness is not less valuable, through the number of works produced by pretensions to the prize, than to those who win it. Several of the pretenders to it, content with purely the honor of having obtained it, have returned the sum allotted, towards augmenting the funds of the next year.

EDINBURGH has possessed a like Society, to which it is that Scotland is indebted for the wise projection of those means which have encouraged its linnen and other manufactures, and its fisheries.

It is about twenty years since this town invited, or gave reception to some protestant families, which came out of Picardy, and Flanders. These were workmen in lawns, or cambricks, who brought thither the first knowledge of this fabric. A peculiar quarter was assigned to them between the town and its port, composed of thirteen houses, in which they settled thirteen french families. This quarter was called *Picardy* from the name of its first inhabitants: they appointed to each the use of a house for himself, and heirs, with a small garden, a cow, and he was provided with utensils. This colony has hitherto experienced, from that town, the protection, and assistance which are deserved by usefull foreigners. It has maintained itself in nearly the same condition: diminished only in one family, which went to seek an establishment in London. Each of these families has thriven in proportion to its industry, and if notwithstanding the ease and conveniencies they enjoy, they yet retain any regretfull remembrance of
their

their own ungratefull country, Scotland renders those regrets more excusable, and more natural than they would have been in England.

The two brothers R. and A. Foulis of Glascow, were known in the literary world from the printing office they have lately established, and already celebrated for the exquisite perfection of its types, and the correction of its editions, for which they are indebted to the care of the learned professors of the University in that town.

But Trade also will have its obligations to them: they have begun to print the best works we have upon that subject. Very lately too they have formed the project of raising a school of Painting, and Sculpture. They have furnished the first advances, and several merchants have joined with them in so usefull an undertaking. One of the two brothers, has ranged over France, and Holland, to pick up the best italian, french, and flemish pictures. He has carried back with him from Paris an able enough painter, a graver, and a rolling-press printer, to whom there are good appointments given. Painting will perhaps be a long time, before it makes any great progress: but the art of drawing will be advanced: and this art is an important

portant one towards the perfection of manufactures.

Public-spirit distinguishes itself also, in Edinburgh, in several establishments which are supported by the generosity of private contributions: amongst others, there is a house appropriated to the orphan children of merchants, who have become bankrupts: they are there brought up and instructed in trade: their apprenticeship to some craft is payed, and they have fifty pounds sterling given them to set up with, on their going out of the House.

The hospital of the infirmary, in which they constantly maintain three hundred poor sick, is a modern monument of their charity, and public-spirit, which deserves to be eternized. The charitable subscriptions of private persons have purchased the ground on which it is built: most of the materials were donations. The architect, masons, painters, scultors, have contributed their time *gratis*, and have adorned this edifice with a noble and respectable magnificence. Physicians, and surgeons, of the first rank, have no other salaries, or appointments, than the blessings of the sick: most of the domestics serve out of charity: even the porter who shows the house, has made a vow (a singular and almost

almost incredible one in Great-Britain!) not to ask, or accept any thing, on any account but for the use of the poor.

Amongst the names of the subscribers, which are contained in a framed list, you see inscribed the island of Jamaica for fifteen hundred pounds sterling: those of Antegoa, and Barbadoes, for three hundred. In the Hall may be seen the portraits, and statues of some principal benefactors: Thus it is, that in offering to the virtue of those generous subjects, that homage, which might have been the aim of self love, they tempt the generosity of those who are incapable of doing a good action, if it was to be a secret one.

We have at London, and all over England, a number, and doubtless too great an one, of Hospitals, supported in a great measure by the annual subscriptions of unknown benefactors, in which the poor, and children find and learn, the means of subsistence; schools these instituted for affording to men a refuge against the disorders of idleness.

The body of the sailors at Newcastle, has submitted itself, by voluntary agreement, to a contribution which has furnished the funds for the building, and maintenance of a beautifull alms-house, in
which

which every one of their poor, or past their labor, finds an assured subsistence. An establishment which may in some measure be put in comparison with that magnificent hospital at Greenwich, for the invalids of the Marine, founded by our kings and the Nation.

In 1687, it was as much a point of public spirit, as of religion, which made England give reception to the french refugee protestants. The gathering that was then made for them amounted to 63,713*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* sterl. (near 1.500,000 livres.) That same year there were maintained of them fifteen thousand five hundred, of whom there were thirteen thousand five hundred alone in London, and parts adjacent; to say nothing of those who came over with their own means of subsistence. The same spirit it is which to this day prevails in Ireland, and allures over thither, those of our brother-protestants, who have not, in their own country, the liberty of singing the canticle of our Lord, or to marry in it. In short this spirit it is, which has proposed, though hitherto without success, in our Parliament, the general naturalization of all foreign protestants.

But to quote some examples, of the private actions of patriots, who have signa-

lized their love of their Country ; it is to the Duke of Buckingham that England owes its manufactory of glass, the secret of which he brought from Venice.

Lady Salton enriched Scotland with its first knowledge of the fabric of linnens, and the bleach of them : a knowledge of which she herself went personally in quest, to Flanders and Holland. She had influence enough to engage the ladies, at their principal assemblies, to wear the first handkerchiefs and ruffles of the Scotch manufactory ; an example which has been since imitated by our Society of *Antigallicans* at London, whose first vow is, that they will make use of no french wares in any part of their dress.

To Sir Thomas Lombe it is that England is beholding for a mill for organizing silk, of which he brought his plan from Piemont, so exactly taken (not without pains and danger) that he had one made by it at Derby in 1734, perfectly like the model. This admirable machine contains 26,586 wheels, and 97,746 movements, that work 73,726 yards of silk at every turn of the wheel, that is to say, 318,504,960 yards (or 247,726,080 ells french) in twenty-four hours, at three turns of the wheel per minute.

The reward of so zealous a subject, was also dictated by public Spirit: instead of continuing to him the exclusive privilege which had been granted to him for a term of years, the Parliament, by an express act, made him a present of 14,000*l.* sterling (250,000 livres) that the advantage of this new invention might belong to the nation in its whole extent.

As in a nation ever watchful over its interests, projects useful to the Good of the community, are sure of fructifying sooner or later, the same public-spirit engages me to subjoin here the following reflexions.

Upon the PROBABLE USEFULNESS of a SOCIETY, which should be solely employed in the study of CULTURE and TRADE, and of the means of perfecting, and encouraging those two objects.

I presume to put the question to those of my countrymen who are sensible, in the utmost extent, of the importance of agriculture, and trade, why England has not a public Society, to which the advancement of these two objects should be entrusted? Is it because our lands are already very fertile, and our trade very flourishing? Granted. But are all of them fertile? may not they be made yet more

so? and is our trade too at a point, beyond which we can have no hopes of yet extending it?

AGRICULTURE.

As to the cultivation, and improvement of land, we are rich in books antient and modern which treat of this science: but these are riches we cannot enjoy, either from the disgusting circumstance of their being little better than a confused heap of instructions without method, of experiments without philosophy, of reasonings without practice; or because these books contain an infinite number of errors successively repeated, which the eyes alone of experience can distinguish from truth: this discrimination should be the first endeavor of the Society I would propose.

The Society should choose for its principal, and most natural residence, the neighbourhood of some unequal ground, (of which we have a great deal) that is to say, containing, within a moderate compass, several soils of different natures.

It should begin by trying several practical experiments: the same ones upon soils of different qualities, and different ones upon soils of the same quality.

It should send for from the provinces of England, where the practices of agriculture are the most different from one another, husband-men to exercise those practices: these husband-men, by conversing with the members of the Society, would improve into a kind of philosophical speculatists, and the natural philosophers would learn from them the practical part of their business, and help the better to form others.

Members of this society, well versed in making experiments with sagacity, and discernment, and distributed into different parts of the country, would teach the husband-men, to improve their lands, from the knowledge they would acquire. They might found, in several parts, particular schools of agriculture, which should correspond with the Head-society, either by communicating their experiences to it, or by reciprocally sending to each other husbandmen already skilled, or to be instructed.

This Society might employ itself in perfecting its knowledge of the various kinds of cattle, of their different species, and would find a vast field for observations, in the study of the best means of

rearing, feeding them, and of treating their disorders; of augmenting their propagation, and meliorating their species. Its experiments should be made upon all the different species in the same spot, and compared with those, which in different parts of England, might be directed by the particular schools for it.

It would be necessary, that a certain number of associates, should be successively sent every year to all the provinces of England, to search into and compose the natural history of them: that is to say, to examine the nature of their soils, and the use to which they are put. Experience daily teaches us, that some lands are either improperly cultivated, or not at all, for want of having discovered new practices, or imagined other products more conformable to the climate, to the encrease of inhabitants, to the natural disposition of the country, with respect to the consumption, or communication, than such as may have been long established in them. They would form a judgment of the places which would be fittest for plantations of wood, or to encrease those which are yet remaining, or where to establish navigable channels, which are wanting in several parts, because the convenience of
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the Sea has made us neglect the advantages of an inward navigation. Some of them might order the earth to be bored, for the exploring of mines, marls, or other materials, of which particular provinces are in want; towards the perfection of our several manufactures of porcelain, glass, &c.

From the report of the state of the natural productions of the several parts thus visited, and examined, a judgment might be formed of those where cultivation is wanted to be established, or encouraged. The Society might then propose particular, and general prizes, according as their different objects might require the culture of some spot in a particular branch, or affect Husbandry in general. These prizes should have for their principal objects, those of drawing from lands already cultivated still a greater produce: or a new one from those in waste, such as sandy soils, drainable marshes, &c. by converting them into arable land, meadows, pasturages for all sort of cattle, by digging of mines, planting forrests, &c. in short, of creating whatever value it should be, in places where none exists at present.

The usefulness of such an establishment could not fail of assuring to it the pro-

tection of the King, and the aid of the Nation: but even without that, the subscriptions alone of the nobility, and other land owners, would be sufficient to defray its expences: and this is not too much to be presumed from the patriot generosity of numbers, in a country, in which we have seen in our days, a single private subject, Thomas Guy, a bookseller of London, found himself alone an Hospital for incurables, of which the building cost 30,000 *l.* sterling, (690,000 *livres*) and endow it with 10,000 *l.* a year (230,000 *livres*.)

T R A D E.

The spirit of Trade having once breathed itself into all nations, and got possession of them, it will certainly happen that some of them will revindicate from the others those branches which naturally belonged to them. Those Nations then, whose industry has usurped the most from the indolence of the rest, will lose the most. We ought then to think not only how to retain what we possess, but to endeavor at new acquisitions, if we mean not to lose.

Our manufactures are, as far as I can judge, already so numerous, and at such a degree

degree of perfection, that the point now is less how to furnish new ideas, and means to industry, than to procure to their products, as well as to our natural ones, new channels of home as well as foreign consumption.

A Society appointed to fulfill these two intentions, ought to be composed of associates, who should unite in it the practical knowledge, not only of the trade of England, but even of the trade of foreigners between one another: There should be of them dealers, well acquainted with our principal manufactures, and with the places in which the vend of them is established; undertakers of manufactures, seamen, merchants who should have traded in foreign countries, and in not only those with whom we have already an open trade, but in those where it is not yet so.

From all these united informations, there would result a current, and universal draught of all the branches of Commerce in being, which London is perhaps solely in a condition to frame: a draught much more to be depended on, than any which the most copious books could furnish us, and which one head alone could not comprehend perfectly in all its parts. From a comparison of these informations would certainly arise

new combinations, or schemes of trade, either for extending the branches which exist, or for creating such as do not.*

Our Youth travel, the most part, without meaning, or profit: now some time previously spent in such a school, would enable them to make their voyages useful to their country, and to themselves. The Society might itself breed up pupils, upon examination of whose capacities, it might appoint them accordingly to be sent into other countries, there to gain instructions on the state of their trade, their means, their extent; their employ of their subjects, their industry and its resources, their revenues,

* Mr. Elton, in 1739, attempted to open to the english merchants settled in Russia, a direct trade with Persia, by the Volga and Caspian Sea; which was the object of an Act of Parliament in the 14th year of George II. (1740) and was an attempt almost forgot since the year 1581. The Nation has the obligation of this idea to him, notwithstanding the sort of desertion, of which he made himself in some measure guilty, in entering into Shah Nadir's service, which brought him to a tragical end in Persia. After him, Mr. Hanway, in 1743, did not meet with a much happier success for the merchandize he carried with him: and indeed nothing better could be well expected amidst the troubles with which Persia was then afflicted.

revenues, taxes, the objects of those taxes, and their effects; the genius, manners of the inhabitants, the way of tempting them with some new manufacture, or other object of trade.

Some of these pupils might be named to the place of first or second secretary of embassy, to all ambassadors, or ministers of the Nation in foreign countries, either, under favor of this function, to take more particular and less suspicious informations, upon all these objects, or to watch especially over any attempt which other nations might make to extend their trade, in order to counter-work their progress, or to counter-balance them by oppugnant demands, or efforts. Merchants themselves, or Consuls established in foreign towns, could, and ought doubtless to fulfill these intentions, but most merchants, confined as they are within too narrow a circle of interests, and views, mind only what they do in a country, and very little what might be done in it. Consuls who are suffered to grow old in the same places, lose the activity of their ideas, and see by rote eternally the same things as they are used to see in them. But pupils such as I propose them, would be able to throw very important lights on the political side

of things, which trade cannot well do without, for, in Politics, there is no knowing thoroughly the strength of any Power, without knowing the strength of its trade: Nor indeed one's own resources, when one does not know what is to be aimed at, or gained, on the side of commerce. In short, other nations must have over us a great advantage, if whilst the state of our forces, and power, are entirely in manifestation to them, we are not clearly informed, on our parts, of their state, and forces. Proper subjects then, instructed in the method I mean, would be capable of negotiating those treaties of commerce, which accompany treaties of peace, and which alone strike the ballance of profit and loss, at the close of a war, in favor of the conqueror or of the conquered.

These pupils, on their return home, would become most valuable members of the Society: time would encrease their number, and then the Society would find it self composed, and constituted, in all the perfection desirable, and which cannot be reasonably expected in the first moments of its establishment.

What better use could our young men make of their time, especially those who are designed for seats in Parliament? They would

would spend less money in France than they do: they would profit more, they would reside longer in other countries, and it would spare our true patriots the eye-sore of seeing Englishmen return from their voyages *Frenchmen*, and dare to show themselves so, even in London.

The home consumption of our manufactures, and particularly of our woollen ones, which is the natural manufactory of the Country, would not least deserve the attention of such a Society; which doubtless would think of the best means for preventing the smuggling of our wool, chiefly caused by the over-abundance of it. The promotion of its consumption seems to have been the motive of the Act of 1666, whereby it was ordered that no one thenceforward should be buried but in woollens. A law that should have obliged the living to consume more † woollens, for their use, would doubtless have produced

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† For example, in order to hinder the use of woollens from being entirely abolished, amongst the women, in their apparell, I do not doubt but that it would be of service, to pass a law, that for three sundays, or on any other particular days in a season, no man or woman should appear in Public but in cloaths of some woollen stuff, under suitable penalties, &c.

a benefit more extensive: The whims of fashion, and demands for consumption, are so fantastic and unaccountable, and yet the object is of such capital importance, that I never doubted of their being a proper matter of cognizance, and controul, from the legislative power. *England* and *France* afford us a sensible example of this strange capriciousness. The abundance of our wool is in some measure cumbersome to us, and yet one would imagine, that we avoided the consumption of it. We scarce know the use of tapestries, we lie on a single feather-bed: the curtains, and appurtenances of which are chiefly linnen; our women, for the greater part, dress in linnens mostly from India, or other foreign parts, notwithstanding the Act of prohibition. In *France*, on the contrary, where wool is both rare, and dear, there are a number of manufactories in woollen tapestry: Wool is employed in all the upholstery of the bed, mattraffies, curtains, and in chairs: the women, at least those of the common form of life dress in it: the luxury, and conveniency of the cloth-wear, makes a frenchman use six cloth-suits, to four that an englishman will. The Dutch, either from chance, or wisdom, have in lieu

lieu of these two extreams, chosen a medium, the most conform to their true interest. As there grows but little wool in their country, they consume but a moderate quantity, though they manufacture a great one.

Peter Parisot, known in France, under the name of Father *Norbert*, has lately established within three miles of London, two manufactures of woollen tapestry, the one after that of the *Gobelins*, founded in France by Francis the 1st; and for which were made those celebrated cartoons of Raphael, that we have at Hampton-Court: the other manufacture, after that of Chailot near Paris, of which the art was brought from Persia, under the reign of Henry the IVth: This establishment certainly deserves the continuation to it, of the protection, and favors of the government.

IV. *Of INCORPORATION of TRADES.
Of COMMUNITIES of MERCHANTS. Of
EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES. Of TRADING
COMPANIES, &c.*

THE prosperity of a commerce still flourishing amongst us, whilst in most other nations it is either in its infancy, or decline; the superior rank in which it has established us amongst the Powers of Europe, have deserved to us the reputation of being the greatest masters in the science of Trade: but we, who see into ourselves nearer, and with eyes more clearfighted than foreigners can, we cannot dissemble to ourselves, that there is yet a great deal to learn, to perfect, to reform, in this branch of the public-weal. We are not exempt from the perversion, and pernicious influences of many antient prejudices, which private interest perpetuates, and reproduces. We have only this advantage over other nations, that we do not want for subjects amongst us, who are well-informed, who can distinguish false principles, and who dare attack them with liberty in their discourses, and writings. But their zeal should not be damped by
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the little success of their first efforts. It is only for time, and perseverance to destroy abuses which time has consecrated; in which I particularly mean those monopolies which cramp, and restrict our trade both at home and abroad.

MONOPOLIES *in the* HOME-TRADE.

We cannot so properly call by any other name those privileged and exclusive Companies of traders, mechanics, manufacturers, &c. who, in some of our towns, exclude from all business, or employ, as if strangers, all such as are not born amongst them; and even amongst their own townsmen, or countrymen, admits to the liberty of working amongst them, none but such as are born in their corporations, or who have bought their freedom, either with money, or with a long, chargeable apprenticeship.

These Companies seem to me bodies separate from the common wealth, who, of their charters and privileges, have made to themselves ramparts against the industry of their fellow-subjects in general, and who oppose to even that of their own fellow-citizens, as many obstacles as are in their power.

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It was doubtless, in the first infancy of our commerce, necessary to grant to those who brought us, or invented manufactures, such advantages as might be capable of fixing, and supporting them. It was also perhaps expedient to have these establishments made in towns, where they might find at hand the necessary helps of men and money. Subjects so usefull had good pretences to impose conditions: they easily obtained privileges, of which the consequences were not then anticipated. We feel them now. Mechanics, and journeymen, who have, in any town, an exclusive privilege of working, are arbitrarily masters of setting the price of their work. Any Body of manufacturers, or merchants, which has alone the right of manufacturing, or selling, has it not in its power to give law to the consumers, and to Trade?

How often, at London in the City, have not the workmen and journeymen entered into conspiracies against their masters, to force them to raise their wages? It is but very lately, and not till after a law-suit of eleven months, that the master-workmen in London prevailed, that they might, on application to the Lord-mayor,

mayor, obtain permission to employ stranger-workmen, for want of others, which however was not to be granted but to him who should have at least one apprentice: otherwise, the contraveners were liable to a penalty of five pounds per day, settled by divers acts of the Common-council.

Even this year, Norwich saw three hundred wool-weavers, discontented with their wages, quit their business, retreat to a hill three miles off, build huts, and stay six weeks there, supported by the contributions of their fellow-workmen who had remained in town, and all this, under pretext that a master-workman had employed, in quality of journeyman, before the time required, a stranger, that is to say, an Englishman born out of the town of Norwich.

I ask any man who understands mechanics, if there is any trade that can exact seven years apprenticeship, before one can be able to exercise it? Amongst men, who have no other support but their labor, and their industry, are there many who can afford giving seven years of their time, without earning any thing for themselves? Is the head of a numerous family to be supposed in a condition of paying
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the apprenticing out his children, at the same time that he is for seven years to be deprived of the benefit of their labor, of which the first years are so naturally due to him. What good policy, or rather what barbarity is there not in a law, which specifically excludes from becoming apprentices, such whose father has not three pounds, or at least 40 shillings per year income? * In short, towards breeding up youth to a habit and relish for work, can it be a promising method, that of confining them to work for seven years for a master, before they can do any thing for themselves? Thence it naturally happens, that numbers excluded, or discouraged by the tediousness, and expensiveness of a long apprenticeship, renounce a trade which returns them nothing, for the more lucrative profession of beggars. It is remarked, that the Poor are more numerous, in the towns where the manufactures are incorporated, than in free towns, and the poor rate a third higher in them.

I have been curious to know, whether these Bodies corporate, or Communities, did not contribute to a better observation of regulations and statutes in the manufactures

* The Parish-children excepted.

factures under their direction, than was done in the free ones : and I found that both had equally shaken off any yoke of restraint, as fast as they found it bear too hard in any part. For the rest, I conceive that it is as easy to subject the free manufactures, as the incorporate ones, to the small number of regulations that may suffice for the interest of the workman, and of trade.

What good can there result to the particular trade of a town, or to commerce in general, from the mechanics, and dealers being subdivided into a number of different Bodies-corporate, and that number so multiplied that their respective limitations, and privileges are almost impossible to ascertain ? † What advantages can there accrue to commerce, from that these corporations should levy upon themselves funds in common, to build magnificent Halls to assemble, and make feasts in, that they should lend sums to the Government, them-

† For one example, amongst other, I remember a law-suit that was started some years ago, at London, between the curriers, who are at the same time leather cutters, and the cordwainers, upon the right of cutting the leather : a contest so hard to decide, that both parties gave it up at length, after a great deal of expence on both sides.

themselves afterwards borrow, and end in a bankruptcy, as happened sometime ago to the Mercers Company in London? Are not these expences, this luxury of communitys, just so much levied upon their merchandize, to the detriment of commerce, and of the consumption of goods.

Our Commerce would have made but slow advances, if, in all our towns, industry had been checked by such restraints: but the freedom left to some towns in England, has been able to establish manufactures in them, in rivalship to the others, and which were not long before they surpassed them. Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, where the name of Corporation, or Community, is happily unknown, hold uncontestably the first rank, amongst our towns of manufacturies. The town and parish of Hallifax has, within these forty years, seen the number of it's inhabitants quadrupled, whilst many other towns, subjected to corporations, have experienced a sensible diminution of theirs. If some still remain flourishing, it is owing to the superiority of their natural advantages, either in point of materials, or of situation; or because their particular privileges have deprived other manufactures that would otherwise have formed themselves,

selves, of all hopes of rivalling them. It is in these towns, that the Spirit of Monopoly is as antient as their Companies. In these towns it is, one hears the merchants boast of the great fortunes that were made in the first, and early times of manufactures, when the trade was in few hands; one hears them too complain that trade is ruined, because the number of dealers is encreased, and the profits lessened by their being more divided, and even declaim against those merchants who augment the consumption, and exportation, by reducing their views to a moderate profit, or to simply that of commissions. It is also, in consequence of the same spirit, that these towns are those, which, on all occasions, stand up the most stiffly against the general naturalization of Protestant-foreigners.

London itself furnishes us with a sensible proof, how much the restraints of these Companies are unfavorable to population. Houses situate within the precincts of the City hardly find tenants, and numbers of them remain empty, whilst Westminster, Southwark, and the other suburbs are continually encreasing. The reason is manifest. These suburbs are free, and offer a fair open field to the industry of every

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every subject, whilst London supports within itself fourscore and twelve exclusive Companies of all kinds, of which one may see the members annually adorn, with a silly pageantry, the tumultuous triumphal procession of the Lord-Mayor.

Of PRIVILEGES.

Commerce has not alone to complain of the monopolies which certain towns enjoy, in prejudice to the general interest: since even private persons do, in contrariety to the whole Nation, obtain exclusive privileges, always solicited, and sometimes granted, through an avidity for unlawfull gain.

Without entering into the distinction, either of the matters, or of the time, for which these privileges are granted, I shall not scruple to lump the conclusion, that there is not one of them that is not unjust, or unreasonable.

If a privilege, whose duration is indefinite, is an Evil, that privilege is also one, which is granted for a term of twenty-one years: I see no difference but in that of the length, or shortness of it. If a privilege is a detainure from, or indeed robs Society of a Public-Good: it cannot be defended

defended with a worse grace, than from the importance of the matter of it.

If a subject has been so happy as to bring back with him, from his voyages, an art, a secret, of which only another nation was in possession: it is a merit in him to his country; and it doubtless ought to recompence him, or rather by a recompence excite the emulation of other subjects: but if he demands a Patent, he loses the merit of his action. Should it be granted to him, the State shuts the door against all foreigners who might bring us the same art, with a freedom to extend, and diffuse it. He also discourages other subjects, who in their voyages might aim, at the same discovery, in their perquisitions.

But, it will be said, if it is an essay of an undertaking, which requires considerable advances, either in respect to the nature of it, or to the fortune of a private person, he will not venture the first costs, for fear that another should supplant him in the fruits of them, and deprive him of the means of recovering them, by taking the advantage of his discovery. To this, I answer, that it is yet worse, that the collateral industry of numbers should be checked, with-held, and discouraged by

the fear, that, after much time and trouble, some Patent should get the start of them, that would make them irretrievably lose their advances, and their pains.

I do not so much as imagine, that it will be objected to me, that pecuniary advances or rewards are an expence that can be grudged, or ill born by the Nation, nor that a sum once payed, can be put in comparison with those which the restraints laid on industry, and perfection, by a Privilege, will make a State lose. Besides there are distinctions, there are honors, which cost the Public nothing: The thanks of the House of Commons, or of both Houses of Parliament, will be a more soothing reward to certain noble minds, than money: and why should not Honor be also properly employed amongst the springs of our government?

If there is any new invention brought to light by an industrious genius; this is again a case, [of the highest title to rewards and distinctions: at the same time it is a case, in which a privilege may be the most prejudicial to the public Good. Rarely does an inventor perfect, or at least advance so far towards perfection, as those that come after him: the imagination of one man is not so fruitfull as that

of many. If the first person who invented callimancoes, or very lately the cotton-velvets, had required a Patent, should we probably have had ten or twelve sorts of stuffs in these kinds, as we now have; and would it not have been renouncing other future ones, which may yet derive from them? In short, in the art of manufacturing, as a new stuff is often no more than a subdivision of the same species, to grant a privilege in such case, is an unjust appropriation to a single person, of a right which all manufacturers in the same kind had to invent, and execute such a stuff.

I place also in the class of privileges, those over-signal preferences granted by a State to one manufacture over others, either by opening to the materials it employs, only that specific Port that lies most convenient for it, or by a diminution of, or exclusive exemption from customs on them: and what does the State gain by it? It raises a great manufactory, of which the advantages are limited to a single town: whilst it might have seen four manufacturys form themselves of their own accord, and enrich four towns, and their neighbourhoods, at the same time that their concurrence, and emulation,

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would

would certainly have produced a greater consumption.

All those who solicit a Patent do not so much as bring a single plausible pretext for obtaining it. If what they propose is a secret, what need have they of a Patent to preserve a secret which they alone possess? Will they alledge, that their works will be counterfeited? but if theirs are, in reality, the best, they are sure of the preference: if not, the Public is sure of gaining by it. They do not then fear their being counterfeited; but that they shall be excelled, or underfold. A Patent then can answer no end but favoring laziness, or avarice, in prejudice to the perfection, consumption, and the circulation of work, which is the great principle of the circulation of money.

But to have done; the State is a Society. He who pretends to enjoy exclusive advantages in it, renounces from that instant the aid and protection he had a right to expect from it. No one ought to regret the advantages he procures to others. There is no one but finds more of them in Society, than he can contribute to it: since he finds in it his own safe-guard, and the peaceable enjoyment of his property.

MONOPOLIES *in the* ABROAD-TRADE.

There are known two sorts of exclusive Companies in the Abroad-trade.

The one are a Society, by which an exclusive trade is managed with a joint-stock, of which the profit and loss are in common to the Proprietors.

The others are a Body, of which the members have acquired an exclusive right of Trade, which each of them is free to carry on, with separate stocks.

The principal grievances alledged against both, are reducible to the following ones.

1st, That they bestow advantages on a part of the subjects, at the expence of the whole of the Nation.

2dly, That they cannot carry on trade upon terms so advantageous as private persons: burthened as those Companies generally are with the exorbitant charges of Direction, establishments, &c.

3dly, That their intention is the most opposite that can be to the general interest of Trade, in that their aim is to keep up at the highest price they can, both without and within the kingdom, those goods and merchandize which are the objects of their traffic.

4thly, That far from extending trade, they contract it. First, because a Company, from the nature of it, and through limitation of funds, has often no proportion with the extent of trade it embraces. Secondly, having a sure profit, and an exclusive right, it has not the same spirit of discovery, and attempts, as private persons have.

5thly, That some of these Trading Companies, are in fact no more than a vain empty name, and ruinous resources for the Government in its occasions for money.

These reproaches are naturally applicable, in general and in particular to the Companies, amongst others, of Hudson's Bay, Africa, East-India, South-Sea, and Turkey.

HUDSON'S BAY *Company*.

The *Hudson's Bay Company* stands a sensible, and deplorable example to us, that an exclusive Company may, for a long time, enjoy a most lucrative trade, and contented with an exorbitant profit, in respect to the original sum of its stock, neglect all the facilities it had to extend it; in contempt of its duty, and of the national interest.

In 1670, a Charter of Charles II. inconsiderately granted away for ever, to a Company, the property of all the lands adjacent to, and beyond Hudson's Bay, with the exclusive trade from them, in bear-skins, fables, ermines, and other furs, which are to be had there in great abundance. Its first capital was only 10,500*l.* (or 341,500 livres) and as inconsiderable as it was, it was sufficient for the expences of its establishment, and notwithstanding the losses, and thwartings with which it met from the French, the profits of it were such, that, in 1690, the Company in order to conceal them, and to put more proportion between its dividends, and its stock, took a resolution to triple it, in appearance by a feigned call on its proprietors; so that each of them, without disburfing anything, saw his funds tripled by this deliberation. The same operation was given out in 1720, but it had no other effect than to augment to 103,500*l.* sterl. (2.380,500 livres) its dead and quick-stock, which then before the call, stood rated by it at 94,500*l.* sterl. (2.173,500 livres.)

So early as 1690, the Company being desirous of securing its property by strengthening its title, had applied to Parliament for confirmation of its charter,

which, far from granting it, set the term of its continuance for no more than seven years. It has nevertheless, since the expiration of it, enjoyed hitherto a trade, the administration and mystery of which having been always concentrated within the small number of ninety proprietors, interested to conceal their profits, has not excited the vigilance, and jealousy of the Nation. However, upon a new demand formed by this Company for the confirmation of its charter, the Parliament having been pleased to take cognizance of its management in the use of it, it was found proved by facts, and papers which the Company itself furnished, that it had employed none of the proper methods for extending its connexions with the Indians, that it had settled no colonies in the inland parts of the Country where the climate is favorable: that content with dealing for a small quantity of skins, and furs, which kept them up at a high price in England, it had baulked and disgusted the Indians from bringing them to market, either by offering them too low a price, or by the distance of its settlements. It was found that it had facilitated the establishment, and commerce of the French in their neighbouring posts: that the pre-
tended

tended forts it had built are good at most against the Indians, and of no sort of defence against any other enemies: that, in short, through an odious unfaithfulness, it had led the Nation into error, by itself decrying a trade, and country, valuable for the advantages of its climate and productions: advantages it has preferred the suffering to pass to our enemies, to the making the most of them, in the fear of being obliged to share them with the Nation, should they come to be known. Such is the exact history of the origin, administration, and progresses of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The AFRICAN COMPANY.

The different successes of the *African Company* prove to us, that a Company may not support itself but at the expence of the general interest of commerce, and that a Company cannot carry on trade upon terms so advantageous for the State, and for itself, as merchants trading freely.

So long as exclusive Companies were in possession of the African trade, the greatest business they annually did, did not exceed five or six thousand negroes. Since the year 1697, that the Parliament thought

proper to lay the trade open to all, whilst however it still permitted the existence of the African Company to continue, the extract of Negroes has, in certain years, exceeded thirty thousand. It is plain that this difference must have been a sensible advantage to our colonies, which otherwise the scarcity, and dearth of Negroes would infallibly have ruined.

But what has been the success of this Company, since all the subjects of Great-Britain have had liberty to share with it the African trade? Why, notwithstanding the aids the Nation has granted to it, in different times, to maintain and preserve the forts and castles it possessed in those countries, all was not still sufficient to defray the charge of its former invasions of the liberty of Commerce, at the expence of which it carried on its own: whilst we have seen at the same time, merchants in different ports in England, amongst other those of Liverpool and Bristol, carry on their traffic to the greatest advantages, upon the coasts, in which they had no forts to protect them.

In short, the Company having been forced to own, that it could not hold up against their competition; the Nation came

to a right understanding of its true interest being to dissolve that Royal Company, * with a reserve to provide, as it has since done, for its reimbursement and indemnification, and at the same time to open the African trade to all the subjects of Great Britain, subordinately to certain regulations, and under the name of a Company, in which every one might hold separate stocks, and to which it allows 10,000 *l.* a year (230,000 *livres*) for the maintenance of the fortifications ceded to it by the old Company, the whole to take effect and date from the 10th of April 1752.

The EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

The *East-India Company* is one of the most glaring monuments of the abuse of the Royal Prerogative, which proves, at the same time, how hard it is to destroy a monopoly once established, and how great a strength it is able to gather, against the interest, and even against the bent of the nation.

This Company founded by Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by James I. and Charles II. began, in 1600, to enjoy the exclusive right of trading to all the eastern

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countries,

* By an Act of the 23d year of George II.

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countries, with its first original stock of 369,891*l.* sterl. (8.507,493 livres) which its profits since carried up to 1.700,000*l.* (or 39.100,000 livres.)

In 1698, the whole Nation having clamored against this monopoly, the minister then in want of money, took the advantage of these circumstances, to have an act of Parliament passed, which opened the trade to every subscriber, or proprietor of a new Company, which lent the Government two millions at eight per Cent. and however so constituted, that every proprietor should be free to trade with his own separate stock. The new Company in less than two years, sent to India forty ships, and a million sterling in specie, that is to say, the double of what the old Company had done, in its most flourishing times: but as this old one, to which had been left the liberty of continuing its trade till the year 1701. had had the prudence to underwrite great sums in the new Company, and had preserved the principal settlements and forts on the coasts of India, it forced the new proprietors to unite with it, which in 1702 formed a new, single Company, under the authority of a Charter from Queen Anne, which was absolutely of the same tenor as that of the old Company,

Company, who thereby repossessed it self of the same exclusive rights, and privileges, with a greater dominion and power than before. Several sums since lent to the government by the Company, has made it find so much favor in its eyes, as to have obtained for it the prolongation of its exclusive privilege, untill it's reimbursement (not before the year 1780) and the continuation of its union for ever.

The power, and successes of this Company, neither dazzle nor impose on any one in its favor: the riches of it, it is true, are acquired to the State, but they are unjustly distributed amongst the members of the Common-wealth, of whom some enjoy them, whilst the rest are excluded. By what right is it, or how could it be imagined right, to appropriate to one Company all Asia, and a part of Africa? What discoveries, what new advantages has not Trade lost by this exclusion? The Company itself finds the field of it too vast for it, since it grants, under condition of certain retributions, permissions of trade to private-stock ships: that is to say, it farms out, or sells to its fellow subjects the natural right of trading, of which it has stripped them. Is not this at least owning, that so great a commerce cannot be exercised,

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cised, or carried on through the whole extent of it, but by a Company, in which every one may be admitted to a freedom of trade? Things would then absolutely return into order, if the command, and maintenance of the Forts judged necessary, were put into the hands of the Nation, who would thereby take the trade under its immediate protection: and men of war might, in such case, be preferably employed in the defence of it. Does not the Company itself do very well without forts on the coasts of China? Forts, troops in the pay of the Company, have more than one dangerous consequence. A Company of traders, acting as if they had their shops on their backs, are quite out of character, and affect with a very ill grace, a martial spirit. It is at the same time to be feared, that their management should encourage nations to instruct themselves in the military art: nations industrious, numerous, and whose interest it is to give law to us in Trade.

If it shall be pretended, that the Company, from personal interest, will better defend its own settlements, against an enemy, than troops in the national pay: if it shall be alledged, that dissensions and quarrels are to be feared between the chiefs appointed

appointed by the Company, and the Commanders of the troops, or even abuses, and vexations on the part of the Military; the siege of Madraſs †, and the adminiſtration of the Company form, upon all theſe points, violent prejudices againſt it, and its pretentions.

I will not deſcend here into the odious allegations one may hear repeated againſt the integrity of Directors of Companies in their adminiſtration: I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving, that many able merchants, who have been Directors of Companies, after having quitted them, as well as buſineſs, have thought it their duty to bear witneſs to the truth, in their public diſcourſes, and writings, that Directions were not more favorable to the private intereſt of the proprietors, than the Companies themſelves are to the general intereſt of the Nation.

One ſingle ſtroke will ſerve to form a judgment from it on the ſpirit of ſuch a Company, and on what the Nation may expect

† Or Fort St. George, taken by the French in the late war; upon which it was ſaid by a Nabob of that country, that if he had intruſted a place of his to dancing-girls, and they had given no better account of it than the Engliſh had done of that, he would have ſtruck their heads off.

expect from it. In 1670, it sent to India a colony of dyers, throwsters, and weavers, to perfect the indian manufactures, and adapt them to the english taste: and it is to them that India owes, in a great measure, the great vogue, and footing, which their stuffs have got in England, and to which all the prohibitions of them have not been able to put an effectual stop.

I shall conclude this article by a prediction, of which I dare say, the truth will make itself sensible before the close of this century.

The commerce of India, consisting, as it does, of a barter of silver, and some European manufactures, for consumable articles of luxury, and for crude materials which Europe and our own plantations might furnish us; every European Nation who has adventured to India, has already felt, that its true interests consists in consuming the least quantity possible of its products, and to sell to others wherewith to double at least the money carried out thither; that is to say, every nation has been willing to throw off from itself upon another, the loss from a commerce intrinsically ruinous: but as fast as all nations acquire a clear notion of this principle, they will be for carrying on a direct trade
with

with India. The East then becoming open to all Nations, the Dutch will lose, either by force, or by new discoveries in Asia, and even in America, their monopoly of the pepper and spice-trade. The Manufactures of India will be no longer, a want, for Europe. Several nations have already prohibited them. Others have imitated them at home. Thus the trade divided and reduced, will go on dwindling to nothing, and the profits will not be sufficient to defray the Company's charges in their settlements, which too will become of no use.

SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.

Whoever shall read the history of the *South-Sea Company*, will be puzzled to find in it any character of a trading Company, or any affinity between its operations, and the intention, or at least the pretext of its institution in 1710.

The exclusive privilege of its trade comprehended all the Eastern and Southern coast of America, from the river Oroonoko, and all its western-coasts from one pole to the other. It was also to extend to its procuring the greatest encouragement to the British-Fishery.

Hitherto, we know of no new discovery, or any considerable settlement, for
which

which the Nation is beholden to this Company. The trade of it to America has been confined to the supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and to the cargo of a ship of permission, agreed on by a treaty of *Asiento*, which was interrupted by the war of 1740, four years before the term of expiration: a treaty disadvantageous to the Nation, inasmuch as it established a monopoly, to the prejudice of our American colonies, and of which the conditions || did not afford great profits to the Company that had carried it into execution.

The whale-fishery is the only one it has attempted, and even in that it has had but an indifferent success.

But in lieu of commercial undertakings, one finds on its registers, bank-operations, stock jobbing, loans to the government, which at one time stood debtor to it for thirty-four millions sterling (782 millions of livres.) The project formed by it in 1719, to reimburse the debts of the nation, will render it for ever famous, for the calamities and exemplary changes of fortune

* Amongst others, the custom of $33\frac{1}{2}$ piaſtres, payable by the Company to the King of Spain, for every negroe *pieça d'India* it should furnish to the Spaniards.

fortune which the proprietors and Directors underwent in 1720.

So that whether this Company is to be set down as a trading Company, or a resort of the Revenue, it is certain, that it has not answered either of those ends; since the trade and fisheries have derived no increase from it, and the national debts have, from the time of its institution to this day, augmented to above forty millions more than they were.

The LEVANT *or* TURKEY COMPANY.

The *Levant or Turkey Company*, is an antient establishment of those times, which may well be called barbarous ones, with respect to Trade: times when ministers, or favorites in power, and even kings themselves, made an odious traffic of the natural rights of subjects, of which rights and privileges they stripped one part, to sell them to the avidity of another part. There is no naming any branch of commerce then known, either of the abroad, or home trade, nor perhaps any merchandize, even of the most necessary articles for life, which have not been the object of exclusive Companies, of licences, patents, general and particular privileges, and other monopolies, always ushered in under
the

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the specious pretext of the Public-Good, and always its greatest enemies.

Letters-patent of the third year of James I. (1606) confirmed by Charles II. grant the exclusive privilege of trade, in the Levant-seas, to a Company, in which were not to be admitted any other subjects, but members of some trading corporation, citizens of London, if residents within twenty miles of London, on payment to the Company of 25*l.* sterling (575 livres) by such as should be under twenty-six years of age, and 50*l.* sterling by such as should be above that age, with liberty to employ each their stock separately in that trade, but subordinately to those particular regulations which the Governors, and chiefs of the Direction of the said Company, present in a general assembly of its members, should enact by a majority of votes, for the advantage of the Company, and of Trade in general.

London was naturally pitched upon for the residence of this Company, which settled its Direction in it. That port was the rendezvous of the ships employed in that trade, and their number in process of time was limited; the members of the Company had no longer the liberty to send out their ships separately: by this means
that

that Direction has at length accomplished the putting London solely into possession of the navigation and trade of that Company: and it has taken care to prolong hitherto the enjoyment of its usurpations*, not indeed without some disturbance, but by ever successfully stifling the complaints which the manufactories of the Kingdom, and even some of its own members have carried before the Parliament, against the oppression and tyranny of the leading-men in the Direction: but even in the Parliament itself, it did not want for interested votes to defend it. Besides, a private person is always so cautious, and fearful of attacking a Company, and succeeds so rarely!

Yet, how could there be any dissembling to one-self the pernicious consequences which must have resulted from a system which has concentrated in London the whole trade of the Levant?

1st, The exclusion of the manufactures of England too remote from London, virtually effected by the advantage which the nearer ones have over them, either from the less charges of carriage, or the greater facility

* The very recent alterations, with respect to this Company, will be observed in a note hereafter.

facility of accommodating themselves to certain dispositions not published, bespoke, or foreseen in time by the Company.

2dly, The hard laws which the Company could arbitrarily impose on the manufactures it preferred to others, both and all of which have complained the one as loudly as the other.

3dly, The greater charges of carriage to London, for those manufactures, which have nearer ports: those also of Commission, Factorship, Warehouse-room, which some towns might have spared to the dealer, the expences in short of shipping and port-charges, much greater at London than elsewhere.

4thly, The same disadvantages for our manufactures, in receiving by the same way, the silk, goats-hair, and other materials from the Levant, which they employ, or consume. Manchester, Derby, Norwich, Coventry, have reason to complain of the sort of monopoly, or preference which the manufactures of London enjoy, by this means, to their prejudice. It is in a manner forcing them to make their silk, hair stuffs, mohairs, as dear as those of London itself, the place in England where work is the dearest.

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The public, or secret circumstances of the conduct of that Company have left no doubts to the Nation, of the spirit that has animated it. It is well known with what ardor it solicited the act of parliament which prohibited the importation of silks from Italy. In 1740, we saw the efforts it opposed to the establishment of a direct commerce between the english merchants of Russia, and Persia, by the Caspian sea; proofs these sufficient of its ambition and jealousy.

But the registers of its deliberations, and particular regulations, and by-laws, submitted to inspection, would lay open, in a greater detail, all the practices which private interest could invent against the Public-Good. One might see all the restraints laid on this trade, such as the first limitation of the number of its ships, upon which alone it was permitted to lade one's merchandize: such too as setting the time of their departure: limitation of quantity: also restraints on the time of making their investments or purchases in England: on the conditions, price, and time of sale in the Levant: Restraints, in fine, which subject to a custom, or rather a mulct of twenty per cent. those commodities which should be disposed

disposed of, contrary to the intention of those laws: restraints again of the like nature, continued in England upon the sale of the commodities brought in return.

On the first view of these different regulations, we should clearly discern two principles which have dictated almost all of them: the one, tending to confine within the smallest number possible of members, the profits of the Company. Now in a trade subjected to so many restraints, the richest members, who always take the lead in the direction, sooner or later compass the discouragement, or exclusion of the weaker ones. The time of buying and selling cannot be the same for a merchant who has a great capital, and for him who deals upon credit. The other principle is consequential to the first, and tends to encrease the profits of the Company by the very means which contract the trade to a narrower bottom. I shall cite for one example, the resolution it took in 1718, to delay for ten months the departure of its ships for Turkey; a delay which it since prolonged, from time to time, and of which it openly, and publicly declared the intention and motive, "To be of raising the price of english manufactures in Turkey, and that of silk

" in

“in England.” It is thus that the Dutch by a like policy, but a policy though with which their country cannot reproach them, burn, at times, or throw into the sea, great quantities of pepper, spice, corn, to keep up the price of them. Thus the spirit of monopoly is ever a destructive one. For to stop the exportation of the woollens, what is it better, in effect, than to burn the looms of the manufactures, and at the same time to wrest out of the workmen’s hands their means of subsistence? Such is nevertheless, and almost necessarily, the spirit of a Company: It will prefer a gain of ten per cent. upon a thousand ton of exports, to five per cent. upon two thousand tons, which it might export. On the contrary, in a free trade, competition necessarily forces the merchants to be satisfied with moderate gains: their only way to encrease their profits, being to multiply their exports. I ask here, which of these two systems is the most profitable to the State?

The advocates for the administration of the Company alledge, that it is necessary to set just bounds to exportation: that if once the foreign markets are suffered to get glutted with our commodities, the merchants, and trade itself are ruined.

I answer, that the over-abundance of merchandizes in a place has less extraordinary, and less fatal effects. If the quantity, for example, is double the consumption of the year, in such case the merchants wait sometimes before they sell, or sell at a less price for riddance sake: the consumption then will perhaps encrease by this diminution of the price, and on this occasion, the trade in general will gain, though the merchants may not, and that even some of them may be ruined. In the mean time, the trading towns, on advice of this over-abundance, diminish their consignments, and in a shorter, or longer space of time, the equilibrium gets restored.

Besides, I would put the question to any disinterested person, whether for the time that this over-abundance causes our manufactures to languish, those of the Foreigner do not feel the same effects from it, though the cause does not come from him: or whether, when the Foreigner shall himself occasion this over abundance our exports will not, though directed by a Company, suffer a momentary diminution. Are not all our dealings in trade with Spain, Portugal, Holland, and even with our own colonies, liable to the
vici

vicissitudes? and will any one, under this pretext, propose the subjecting them anew to the constraints from which they have been happily freed.

But France, it will be said, France which has got over to itself the greatest part of this trade, sets bounds itself to its exports, and the privileges granted to the town of Marseilles, have given to this town, and to the southern manufactures, an exclusive privilege of trading to the Levant.

To this I answer: First, that notwithstanding the authority of GEE, one ought not, without great precaution, to take France for a model in matter of trade, especially where the liberties of it are concerned.

2dly, That, in France, as elsewhere, it is an eternal truth, that to regulate exportations, is the way to cramp them, and consequently to lessen them: that if Marseilles does, in fact, enjoy an exclusive privilege of trade to the Levant, France has, like England, deprived itself of those branches of trade which the other ports, and manufactories of the kingdom, might have procured for themselves in the Levant.

But an irrefragable answer, and the true one, is, that France owes its superiority to

us in the Levant, only, and merely to the superiority of its cloth over ours: for the best cloths are those which suit the best those countries in which they are consumed; and the French have taken care to model, and adapt their manufactures to the taste of the people of the Levant.

In that is the whole gift of the secret of the trade: as the infallible method of obtaining the preference over all competitors in any commerce, is that of working best, and cheapest: a method, I aver, more certain than that of a monopoly, and withall exempt from the odious consequences of one: a principle this, which is at once of a self-evident truth, and a guide equally sure for the Statesman in his administration, and for the private merchant in his dealings.

The summary estimate I shall subjoin may give an idea of the importance of this trade, and of the diminution it has suffered from year to year, doubtless caused by our bad policy, of which our rivals have taken care to make their advantage.

Between the years 1720 and 1740, the amount of our yearly exports to Turkey in cloths, and other merchandize, was computed

computed at 180,000 l. sterl. (4.140,000 livres) one year with another: The importations for the same time, and almost the whole, in materials for our manufactures, were estimated at 236,470 l. sterling a year (5.438,810 livres.)

By an extract from the custom-house books it appears that there were

IMPORTED

Commun. ann.

lb. of 24 oz.

{ From 1720 to 1740

{ 1722 to 1726

{ 1737 to 1741

Raw-Silk

206,000

196,000

88,336

{ From 1720 to 1740

{ 1734 to 1738

{ 1739 to 1743

Goat's Hair
thread

206,000

158,406

82,046

EXPORTED

{ From 1734 to 1738

{ 1739 to 1743

Long cloths

Pieces

13023

6224

{ From 1734 to 1738

{ 1739 to 1743

Short-cloths

1796

1379

It was doubtless then without any foundation that the Company hoped, or made England hope, that it would render us masters of the trade to the Levant, by the help of its administration, its presents*, and its practices: vain, unprofitable services, with which the Nation might well have dispensed. The National Ministers, and Consuls, could protect the trade, by the usual means in those countries: and the National power was able to command the respect due to it: and as to the English merchants, it was their part to deserve a preference over other nations, by the advantages the Turks should find in their dealings with them. But that is what they will never attain to; if they have not left to them the liberty and choice of their ports, and ships, of the time and conditions of the purchase and sale of their goods, as well exported, as imported in return: and those regulations which may be needfull for the Good of the trade, will be always suspectable and dangerous, when they are not of the framing of a

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* By the Company's accompts it appears, that between 1733 and 1740, its charges and expences, including the presents, at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna, have amounted yearly to 8000*l.* sterling. (184,000 livres.)

Committee of merchants, at once well-acquainted, and without any byass of interest, in this trade †.

CONCLUSION.

Thus it is that five exclusive Companies have got themselves into possession of the three quarters of the known World: and

† The numerous complaints and petitions of the principal ports, and manufactures in England, lain before the Parliament, obtained in the last session, the 26th year of George II. an act, of which the bill could not pass the preceding Parliament, which enacts, amongst other dispositions,

That, to reckon from the 24th of June 1724, every subject of Great Britain may, on his petition presented to the Governor of that Company, be admitted, paying only 20*l.* entrance to the said Company.

That all members of the Company may export separately, or in joint stocks, to the seas of the Levant, all licit merchandizes, in such quantity, in such time, and dispatched from such port of Great Britain, as they shall think fit.

That no particular regulation, or by-law of the said Company, shall have any force, untill having passed two general assemblies, and that all members of the Company, complainants, to the number of seven, shall be admitted to appeal to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, against any regulations, or by-laws, they shall judge to be contrary to their interest.

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and the free trade of England has seen it self reduced to Europe, and to the confined possessions it has in the three other parts of the Globe.

As for the rest, the following proof seems deducible from the analysis, and examination of the origin of the rights, and of the successes of the above Companies.

1st, With respect to the abroad-trade, that, if exclusive Companies have been necessary in time past, they may cease to be so in other circumstances: and that the dissolution of them being once become possible, is a certain gain to Trade in general.

2dly, That in the present point of time, exclusive Companies are less necessary than ever (if ever they were so) to establish new channels of trade, and that they are hurtfull, and ruinous in those already established.

3dly, That even, in the case of Companies, termed free, and not exclusive ones, which might be thought usefull, the exclusive spirit which reigns amongst their Governors and Directors, is sure to introduce in the end monopoly, with all its pernicious consequences.

4thly,

4thly, That if forts, and troops, are necessary to protect any establishment of trade, those forts, and troops, like all the rest, ought to be maintained at the charges, and subordinate to the orders of the Nation: agreeable to this principle, that as Trade specially belongs to the Nation, so ought also the charges incident thereto.

5thly, To conclude with something at once applicable to the abroad, as well as to the home-trade: all establishments, or regulations concerning Trade, ought to be essayed upon the following principles, as upon so many touchstones: to wit; That, in Trade, industry is the offspring of liberty: That the home and abroad consumption depends on the cheapness of the commodity, which cheapness is the consequence of competition: That consumption promotes the employ of individuals, and the encrease of People, sole active and creative principles in a State.

V. *Some REFLEXIONS upon POPULATION;
the EMPLOYMENT of INDIVIDUALS;
the POOR; MARRIAGES; and NATU-
RALIZATION.*

IT is in proportion to the number of men which a State possesses, that it can be esteemed powerfull. It is in proportion to the number of its men, that its lands can be better cultivated: that the hands employed in its manufactures, and the arms which defend it, are more numerous; that the taxes and charges bear the lighter upon every one.

But how narrow, how confined is the mind of man! Those men to whom, under the supreme direction of a Providence which embraces the whole Universe, the care of earthly concerns is entrusted, scarce understand which is that form of Society, under which it would be most advantageous for them to live; which is the most favorable distribution of men to that system they have preferred. So many circumstances have contributed to form these societies, these systems, that those who have found them established, have been tempted to believe them the work of Chance. The
greatest:

greatest number of men exist without perceiving the causes of their existence, and are the effect of them, without knowing that they are so. Then again, these causes are so complicated! and besides the interest of knowing them touches so few minds! Yet, there is in every system of government, some certain proportion more favorable than another, of the use to be made of the earth, water, and products forced therefrom by human industry; of the local distribution of men, through countries, boroughs, villages, and towns; of the distribution of the different employs in Society amongst these men; of the distribution of the labors in each class, and of the produce of those labors, wealth, or easy circumstances. But this proportion, suppose it in actual existence, is liable to so many violent changes, as famine, plagues, wars, to so many imperceptible ones, as alterations in trade, luxury, manners! To so many variations which its relations to other States may occasion; and to so many others, which may be the work of Laws, that men often make without foreseeing their consequences!

Yet is it not indifferent for men to conceive, or obtain clear notions of this social oeconomy, of its proportions, changes

and their consequences. It is on the perfect relation of these causes to one another, that depends the existence of that system under which they live. Themselves are subject, for their own preservation, to the action of those springs, which themselves set, or keep going, without being able to calculate surely their effects. A single one of these springs destroyed, or weakened, extends sometimes its disorders even to the sources of life: and these haughty creatures, who imagine themselves the final cause of all earthly things, perish by their own works, and with them.

I leave to the vast speculations of legislative geniuses, to imagine the most favorable systems to population; to critic historians the search into what may have been that of antient empires; to Politicians the study of what may be that of the States with whom they are in any relation, or of what they have to fear from it: I shall restrict myself to the examination of the means of arriving at a circumstantial knowledge of the population of England, and of making a profitable use of that knowledge, which, all simple as it seems, is doubtless highly interesting. For Population is the certain criterion by which we are taught the state of health of the Body-politic:

politic: that point of time in which it is most flourishing; *ought* certainly to be esteemed that point of time in which, under all good governments, the strength of the State is at the highest. Praises are, in Society, given to him who busies himself in the study of the means to multiply those comparatively vile, and usefull animals, which man compells to serve his uses: and how much more laudable ought it to appear, to meditate, and contribute to the multiplication of the human species, of Man, that noblest of Beings in his own eyes, of all those which breathe on the face of the earth ||.

The

¶ Claudius Quillet, a french poet, in his dedication to the Cardinal Mazarin of his latin poem, entitled *Callipædia*, or, *the manner of getting beautifull children*, says with as much truth, as grace:

Diu multumque cogitavi, Cardinalis Eminentissime, prudentisne animi foret, hujus poematis editionem sub sacri tui nominis auspicio moliri: ab hoc proposito me deterrebat tenerioris, nec abunde gravis, ut multi ex prima fronte censebant, argumenti conditio

Sic divini Maronis opus Georgicon C. C. Mecænati totius Imperii Romani, ipsiusque Augusti Imperatoris administro inscriptum quondam fuit . . .

Enimvero quis segetes etiam lætas, lætis thalamis; ulmis adjundas vites, sponfis ad pulchram sobolem dilectis; boum curam, habendique pecoris cultum, ipsius hominis coalescentis, nascentis, & adolescentis
cura

The means of obtaining an usefull knowledge of the state of population, are reducible to the survey of the land, and a recension of the inhabitants. It is in the order of things to begin by the Land-survey: because Man is more subordinate to the earth, for his means of life, and multiplication, than the earth itself is to Man for its produce. I do not propose to myself, the giving an exact plan of these surveys and recensions, but shall content myself with a summary indication of their general intentions.

Of the LAND-SURVEY.

A country may doubtless contain more inhabitants than it can support, or employ with the products of its own growth: but a people that has not within itself, at least the necessaries of life, all-powerfull as it

curæ preponat, nisi malus rerum estimator haberi non erubescat?

His liceat addere rationem, quæ carmen hoc nostrum Regibus etiam Regnorumque moderatoribus serio commendet. Quum enim ipsorum Imperium, Imperiique moderamen, non in segetes, aut pecora, sed in ipsos homines proprio, & convenienti modo procedat; quis hæc nostra de humane pulchræque prolis habendi ratione præcepta, ad Regnorum decus, roburque conducere, SALICISQUE etiam legibus adjungenda esse non concedat?

it may otherwise be, holds no better than a power ill-secured, and precarious ; which time may reduce to its just value, that is to say, to the value of its lands.

Such a survey of the land as would answer the good purposes presumable from it, should be an exact map, which besides the distances, rivers, canals, should contain,

1st, The surface of the land applotted to towns, villages, boroughs, the number of their houses, and stages of erection.

2dly, The number of farms, and houses scattered about the Country, belonging to the cultivation of lands.

3dly, The number of acres of land belonging to each town, village, or borough.

4thly, The number of acres of land, in cultivation, distinguished by their several species of products.

5thly, The nature and extent of the waste or uncultivated lands.

6thly, A numerical account of the cattle of all sorts.

From all these truths known and certified, compared with the number of inhabitants, the following conclusions might, with certainty, be deduced,

First, Which that species is of the products

ducts of the earth, that employs the most ground, and the most men in the cultivation of it; and, in what proportion, it may be most convenient to distribute or allot the land, to the different species of produce. Nor, without due knowledge of the cause, would one species be suffered to be encreased, at the expence of another. If a sudden augmentation of export, or consumption should happen to exhaust a species slow of repairing, as has happened to the woods of England, a calculate, and comparison of years, would give warning of the commencement, and progresses of the evil, time enough to provide a remedy against it.

2dly, A comparison might be made of the acres of ground in actual cultivation, with the number of farms belonging to it. It is natural that, according to the difference of their products, or of their fertility, these farms should be at a greater or less distance from one another: according to deductions from this knowledge, one might favor the conversion of commons, and pasturages, into enclosed and arable lands: this would at the same time favor the multiplying of farms, which the richer the country, become every day the less numerous, in proportion to the extent
of

of the farmed ground, through the land-owners laying them together, in order to diminish the charges of a more divided husbandry: insomuch that a thousand pounds sterling a year, in bad, or indifferent lands let out to farm, will give subsistence to thirty or forty families of laborers, whilst in a rich country the same extent would scarce employ six.

3dly, Whereas, in a country of manufactures, and commerce, the products of the earth can never be multiplied, but to the greater benefit of consumption, and exportation; there ought no land to be suffered to remain uncultivated or in waste. Every Year then, those works which the land requires of men to render it habitable, would be promoted; such as clearing the ground, navigation of rivers, canals, and roads. Should even foreigners, if necessary, be called in to aid those purposes, the State would gain by it the new value of the improved lands, and a new fund of subjects.

4. Usefull animals, especially the live stock of cattle, hold amongst the productions of the earth, and relatively to them, a very important rank: the propagation then of them might be encouraged in those places, where it would be most
advan-

advantageous. The decrease of them proceeding from distempers or other causes, might be remedied, or prevented by proposing premiums, for the discovery of specific remedies, which should be made public by authority: and by granting to the owners of the cattle afflicted with such a scourge, a gratification assignable on the poors-tax.

On the RECENSION of the INHABITANTS, considered with respect to the general population, and to the local distribution of them into Counties, Towns, Boroughs, Villages, and Parishes.

Upon so important an object as this, why content one self with conjectures, with calculates made on suppositions, of which the exactness depends on so many circumstances, for the most part ill known, when it is so easy to procure yearly an exact state of the numbers of every living soul in every parish of England, and even of the three kingdoms, house by house? Hitherto, confined as we have been to the accounts of births, deaths, and distempers, what have we been able to know of the general State of the Kingdom? London itself has no positive knowledge of the number of its inhabitants: Some carry it

so high as a million of souls; others only to eight hundred thousand: others again, with more probability, to six hundred and ninety-five thousand, according to the calculations of Dr. Short.

By means of such a general recension, how many new points of knowledge would manifest themselves to our eyes? how many errors would vanish away? how many truths proved by facts? how many effects, hitherto unknown, would make us trace out the causes of them equally new to us?

One might ascertain, by comparing with one another, the states of the marriages and births in Towns, Boroughs, and the Country, which of these different assemblages of men is the most favorable to population.

As to London especially, the state of births and deaths in it (to which is not joined that of the marriages) † presents facts to us, of which the consequences ought not but to alarm us, and which well deserve the most particular attention of the Nation.

† The bills of mortality in London take in 135 parishes, contained within the district of the towns of London, Westminster, borough of Southwark, and round about, in the counties of Middlesex, and Surrey.

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N ion. For example; you find that from 1600 to 1750, the sum total of deaths has gone on yearly encreasing from 6000 to 25,000, and that of births no more than from 6060 to 14,250: so that in proportion to the encrease of the number of deaths, (those by the plague non-included) the difference between the births and the deaths has proceeded constantly encreasing, insomuch, that from 1000 to 1010, which in the beginning of the seventeenth century was the proportion of the deaths to the births, it has insensibly come to be from 1000 to 570.

For this century alone, the difference of the sum total of births, and the sum total of deaths, exceeds 400,000. So that here would actually be 400,000 fewer inhabitants in London, if the Country (as experience eternally proves) had not replaced to it this annual destruction, which, in these last fifteen years, has gone on encreasing to the amount of ten thousand one year with another.

The recension of the inhabitants, and the state of deaths in each place, with the circumstances of age, seasons, distempers, plagues, famines, would show us which is the most favorable distribution to the life, and health of mankind.

A state of the births, and deaths in the Country, and in the small towns of it, would probably confirm the commonly received opinion, which is, that the sum of each of them is pretty near equal, if not even in favor of the births.

A comparison of the annual recensions of different years would furnish authentic testimony of the encrease or decrease of the general population. One might also descend into the details of particular population: one might see what counties, towns, or parishes, dispeopled fastest, or made a contrary progress. These effects being the work of nature, or even of human dispositions: remedies might be applied to any disorders of the general political machine, and industry might supplement, or improve natural advantages.

I take it for granted beforehand, that a comparison of all these enumerations would teach us the following truths, doubtless unpleasing ones, but of which it is of importance not to be ignorant.

1st, That London, in comparison with the other towns of England, and some towns, in comparison with the country, and with the boroughs and villages in it, have a sensible disadvantage, in point of health, duration of life, number of marriages,

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riages, poor, and beggars, robberies and other enormities.

2dly, That London has grown, and continues still to grow, out of compass, at the expence of and to the sensible diminution of the other towns and boroughs, at the expence in short of the class of laborers: and that some capital towns do the like in their respective counties.

From thence might be concluded, that it has been the effect of the greatest inconsideration, and of the worst policy imaginable.

1st, To have concentrated at London the trade to the East-Indies, Levant, South-sea, &c. by establishing the residence of those trading Companies in the port of London.

2dly, To favor, or to suffer in it the establishment of new manufactories.

One might be convinced, that these operations, or such other, as should tend to encrease the growth of London, or of any other town already considerable, are bad.

1st, If but for that alone that they produce this effect, or tend to it.

2dly, Because the affluence and multitude of men employed in London, in these trades, and manufactories, as dealers, packers,

packers, porters, factors, workmen bred in it a dearness of provisions, and of work, by which these trades, these manufactories, † and even agriculture itself, suffer. Now, so many Poor whom the Public maintains, so many superfluous inhabitants of towns, were they transmigrated, or allured by any means whatever into the country, and the uncultivated lands of it, this would produce two great advantages, the disburthening the Public, and the places they would leave; and new riches in the country they would inhabit.

These conjectures, and the consequences deducible from them, appear so obvious to the eyes but of common-sense, that one cannot without surprize observe Sir G. Petty seriously discuss, which of the two following combinations would be most advantageous to England: that is to say, to which of the two it would be best for England to approach the nearest: the one, in which London alone should contain 4 millions 694 thousand inhabitants, and the other towns, and villages of England, only

† Witness, amongst others, the manufactory of Chelsea-porcelain. Its wares bear no comparison with those of Saxony, in point of paste, whiteness, drawing, or colors, and are nevertheless at least a third dearer.

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only 2 millions, 710 thousand amongst them : the other, according to which London should not contain above 96 thousand inhabitants, and the remaining 7 millions 304 thousand inhabitants to be distributed, viz. 104 thousand into little towns, and 7 millions 200 thousand into 1200 thousand houses, having each a lot of 24 acres. The byass he discovers towards the first supposition, or at least the indecision under which he leaves the question, deserves doubtless the qualification himself gives to the two suppositions, which he terms extravagant.

Of the RECENSION of the INHABITANTS, considered with respect to the employment of them.

Man, either in Society or out of it, can only draw his subsistence, and his defence from his labor. In society, all ought to contribute to those expences which procure the safety and happiness of the community. These charges are paid by every one out of the surplusage of what he possesses, or of what he has earned by his labor, beyond the necessaries of life. It is of importance then to a State, to multiply the means of employing its subjects : but there are different degrees of necessity, and
useful-

usefulness, amongst those employments. Now a recension, in which men should be divided into the several classes formed by those employments, can alone furnish the knowledge and ability of making a certain use; and that use the best possible of the subjects comprehended in it.

Without entering into a discussion of the preferences, and precedences, due, or granted to certain employs in society above others, mankind might be generally divided into three classes.

Class the first, containing those which properly form the mass of the State, and furnish it with means of subsistence: such as the landed-men, laborers, traders, and manufacturers.

The second, those men who receive their subsistence from the State, for the services they have devoted to it: that is to say, the Clergy, the land and sea-forces, the lawyers.

The third, those men who draw gratuitously their subsistence from the State: such as the Stock-holders, people in no employ, and beggars.

This simple division clearly points out, with what eye the State ought to look on these three classes.

FIRST CLASS *of* MEN.

This Class will bear two great divisions.

The Landed-men, and Laborers.

The Manufacturers, and Traders.

Their interest is evidently a common one; or rather identically one and the same; since the land is only valuable according to the consumption of its products, and that Trade turns specifically and essentially upon those products.

As to the landed-men, and laborers, it should be observed, that this first employ of men, being the foundation of all the rest, this class deserves the greatest attention to promote the progress of their industry, and population.

No account then could be too circumstantial, in describing the number of laborers in each parish, the number of their marriages, their fecundity, the duration of the life of these valuable men, who exercise the most necessary, the most laborious, and the least payed employment, in society. Humanity, and the public interest, ought unanimously to concur to the procuring them the easiest and happiest condition: for which the State would be recom-

recompensed by the encrease of its riches, in men, and in productions.

It would be found that the helps of Surgery, and Phisic, too abundant in towns, are not enough spread over the country: that the peasants are subject to diseases naturally simple enough, but which, for want of proper care, degenerate into mortal weakneses, pinings away, madness, epilepsies, and other accidents which make continual havock amongst them. I know that a multitude of remedies, and all of them specific, are quoted. But is there one certainly so? which is it? Do not such discoveries deserve a signal reward, and a most authentic notoriety?

The Manufacturers again, and Traders, add a value to the productions of the earth, and procure them consumption at home and abroad. The sums which the State receives on the ballance of trade, are the produce of the industry of this class of men. There is then no being too sensible of the regard they merit, since the cultivation of the land absolutely owes its progress to them.

INDUSTRY. HANDYCRAFT.

The profit which the State draws from manufactures, and trade, ought to be in-

comparably less esteemed, at the rate of the number of pounds sterling, to which the ballance of it amounts, than at the rate of the number of men, to which this trade, has given means of subsistence by employing them. Such is the true Principle of Trade: and such ought to be the spirit of the laws, by which it is governed.

The employment of individuals augments by the consumption of commodities, and that consumption by the cheapness of them, which depends again on the price of work, which rises or falls with that of the necessaries of life, as being its general, and most immediate rule.

The industry, and genius of men, influence next the price of this work, by diminishing the labor, or number of hands employed. Such is the effect of mills worked with wind, or water, frames, and other machines of valuable invention. I shall quote for examples, amongst others, that machine of the Organzine for silk (page 122.) saw-mills for planks, in which, under the inspection of one man, by the means of a single axle-tree, one may, in one hour, with a tolerable degree of wind, work 90 planks of eighteen feet: ribbon-frames of from twenty to thirty shuttles, which Manchester, and Glasgow
learned

learnt from the Dutch, and which are doubtless known elsewhere.

An author of some reputation in France, * has, with reason advanced, speaking of the industry and use of machines, that the skill of doing with one man, what before used to be done by two, is virtually doubling the number of subjects.

It was objected to him, as amongst us, it still continues to be objected to these machines.

That every machine which diminishes labor by one half, does, that instant, in fact, deprive the half of the workmen in that trade, of the means of subsistence, unless they strike out of their industry a new employment in the same trade, or in some other that may want hands: or, unless that the cheapness, occasioned by such a machine, should produce the doubling of the consumption at home and abroad. That industry is not always ready at a call to replace to a man the employment, of which he has been deprived. That it is not even near credible, that other trades should want hands, whilst there are actually so many poor who are a burthen to the Public: that these workmen out of em-
K 3 ploy,

* M. Melon.

ploy, will sooner choose to be maintained, as beggars, at the parish charge, than in a trade to which they are strangers; in short, that all consumption has its bounds, and that even supposing it to augment the double of what it was before, that augmentation will decrease again, as soon as foreigners shall have procured themselves the like machines, and that then there will remain to the inventor no advantage from his invention. Other reasons have been added, and of much the same force, as those which the boat-men on the Thames alledged against the building of Westminster-bridge, and the cart-men of London against the resolution so often proposed in vain, of rendering the paving of this Town practicable.

But these objections are not even specious, or plausible ones, unless for prejudiced minds, and such as take the abuses, and restraints, which actually hamper the present state of Commerce, for necessary and sacred principles. What, because the means of subsisting in a State without work have been multiplied: because the means of subsisting by work have been diminished by the restraints laid on the liberty of trade; because the unnecessary length of apprenticeships deprives all the
trade

trades of an infinite number of proper subjects for them; because the privileges and monopolies of the abroad-trade hinder the consumption of commodities from gaining ground; ought we to renounce the advantage of reducing the price of work, however not obtainable but by diminishing the number of hands? But, were the principles of such objectors just: their pretensions may be carried yet further: in proportion that the consumption shall diminish, (as in fact it diminishes daily) one should invent machines to encrease the number of hands, by way of supplement, to the want of employment for them.

Thus, the restraints imposed on industry, will only serve to beget new restraints: whilst, on the contrary, the efforts of industry restored to liberty, would produce new matter of industry, amongst men who live by their labor, and animated by emulation, and necessity.

Why wait for the time, when the industry of other nations in employing machines, shall force us to adopt the use of them, if we would preserve our competition with them in the same markets? The surest profit will ever be for that Nation, which shall have got the start, in

industry, and, every thing else supposed equal, that nation whose industry enjoys the greatest liberty will be the most industrious. I approve, at the same time, that there should a prudent delay, and preparation, precede the use of those machines which might make too sudden, and violent a gap, in those trades which employ workmen. Yet is not this prudence particularly necessary, but in a state of restraint, such as at present actually subsists. Besides, whither through discouragement of invention, or through our proximity to perfection, our industry seems to be at such a point, that its gradations are gentle, and any violent discomposures are less to be feared than heretofore.

The occasions for employing manufacturers know no bounds but those of consumption. The consumption admits of none but from the price of work. That Nation, in which work is cheapest, and of which the merchants will content themselves with the most moderate profit, will carry on the most lucrative, and the most extensive trade, all other circumstances supposed equal. If our cloths are carried at the lowest price to the markets of the Levant: the consumption of them will extend, without limit, to Persia, Tartary, &c.

&c. The liberty, and competition, between the workmen in hard-ware at Birmingham, have brought, and established the works of those manufactories at so reasonable a rate, that notwithstanding the price of provisions, and work, commonly dearer in England than in France, notwithstanding the duties of entry on the foreign Iron and Steel employed in them, together with the charges of carriage to France, by the way of Hamburgh, and other foreign ports, and the duties of entry into France, under the name of German hard-ware, they obtain the preference over the works of all other manufactures of the same kind: and the consumption of them has encreased to such a point, as almost to equal the sum which England actually pays to France for her cambrics, lawns, &c. a sum indeed greatly diminished by the prohibition of them, and by the advancement of our own linnen-manufactories. Such is the power of Industry set at liberty, whilst at the same time the channels of the home, and abroad-trade are kept free: it knows how to open new-markets to the consumption of its products, and even to force an entrance into those which are shut against it.

The price of the necessaries of life being the rule of that of work, does not that frugality which reigns in the country, clearly point how much better it is to favor the establishment of manufactories in it, preferable to the towns distinguished for their luxury? how many idle moments in the short days of winter, might not the peasants employ in making coarse cloths, and linnen? These profits would turn to the advantage of the population of the Country, and of the culture of lands, which would gain extension over the surface of it.

A general recension of all the men employed in the manufactures: a state, in particular, of the manufactures themselves, would inform us of the condition of each: and the general result of their successes, and population, would prove more certain instructions, than inferences drawn from the Course of Exchange, and Ballance of trade, as to the true state of our Commerce, by showing us at the same time, what branches of it should stand most in need of assistance, reformation, or encouragement.

SECOND CLASS *of* MEN.

The Clergy, the Land and Sea-service,
the

the Law, being solely composed of subjects in the pay of the State, for the preservation of the deposite of Religion, the distribution of Justice, and the repelling the attacks of an enemy; can Society, with respect to these three orders, be at a loss to know its true interest? or can that interest be any other, but to reduce them precisely to that just number of men, which shall be absolutely necessary to those ends, to wit, of procuring to itself the exercise of the Laws, divine and human, and its own safety, and all this at the cheapest rate possible?

THIRD CLASS *of* MEN.

Should comprehend the stock-holders, the people without professions, and the beggars.

It would soon appear that the number of stock-holders can only encrease from a spirit of idleness, and at the expence of Trade: that a stock-holder is an useless subject, whose laziness lays a tax upon the industry of others. It would be obvious to sense, that the public debts ought, for a double reason, be called burthens on the State, since they multiply the means of subsisting in a State, without industry, or labor.

Under the name of People without professions, might be comprehended,

First, Stock jobbers, brokers, sollicitors at Law, and others who live upon their industry : that is to say, who exercise that industry of theirs, not in producing new riches in the State, but in making the riches of others change hands, by passing into their own.

2dly, That multitude of men, which the luxury, rather than the wants of the rich, mainrain in idleness, in the service rather of their vanity, than of their persons.

3dly, So many masters of, and retainers to the least usefull arts, which are much better payed than the necessary ones, and of which the number is encreased to an incredible point of extravagance.

4thly, So many frivolous writers, whom the impossibility of getting into apprenticeships, or the contempt of a mechanic profession, has devoted to the trade of making books. All those Divines, those Controversists, Sermon-writers, Interpreters, Commentators, to whom the spirit of dispute, and curiosity, rather than Religion, dictates volumes without number, in all sects, and even in the Church of England, to the great damage of the true faith,

faith, to the scandal of the weak, to the detriment of humanity, of peace, of the other christian and moral virtues, and to the shame of the human understanding.

5thly, The Beggars, of whom I shall treat hereafter.

The general recension of these three different classes of mankind, and of the subdivisions of those classes, would teach us the proportions existing between them: proportions so important to know, towards the reduction of such, whose progresses might grow too alarming for the others, and to keep each within due bounds, according to its respective utility, or necessity.

Of the POOR, and of BEGGARS.

There is certainly no State, in which may be found more laws than in ours concerning the Poor: Laws wiser in appearance, or more humane, more equitable: or so many books, and excellent representations, on this subject: so many hospitals, or, in short, so great a fund of generosity, and charity, as in England: At the same time too, there is not perhaps a country in which there are so many Poor.

Yet those Laws must be intrinsically defective, which, being so important as they

they are to every member of society, have not the force to make themselves be executed, or which one may easily elude.

The Poores-rate, for England only, which is from two shillings, as far as to six and eight shillings in the pound, in some parts, exceeds three millions and a half sterling (80 millions of livres) if one adds to it the private charities, and foundations of Hospitals; a sum sufficient to maintain the tenth of the inhabitants.

The charges of the roads, and of the public works, are also immense; and continual resources for such as want employment.

The charity-schools maintain, and bring up the twentieth part of the children that are born: nevertheless, in the towns, the streets swarm with Poor, some of whom soon after perhaps beg, on the high-way, with a presented pistol in hand.

The abuse of the particular administrations of the Poor's revenue, and the insufficiency of the Laws, are too glaringly evident, and the consequences of this evil are too dreadful for this administration, not to become a national concern.

There is no more effectual method of redress for it, than to appoint a committee of members of Parliament, before whom
should

should be annually laid a state of the sums levied, or applied to the maintenance of the poor, and a list of the poor' maintained in every county.

By these circumstantial states, and lists, by comparisons, and indisputable facts, it would be made manifest,

1st, That the principal causes of there being so many poor, are, privileges, exclusive rights of freemen, and corporations; the indiscreet, as well as unfaithfull distribution of the parish-alms, the money scattered through Towns and Country, by the candidates, in the time of elections, the multiplicity of ale-houses, taverns, and other infamous snares of idleness, and debauchery.

2dly, That robbers owe their origin, not to want, but to indiscreet charity. That class of men which has no right to the parish-alms, is far less abundant in robbers than that which has. That right is an encouragement to, and the certain refuge of idleness, the parent of debauchery, and crimes.

In short, it would appear convincingly plain, that the only prompt remedy that can be brought for this urgent evil, would be,

First,

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First, To form a common national mass, or aggregate, of all the sums levied, throughout all the parishes, under the name of the poor's tax, to which should be joined the funds of all the ancient charitable foundations: with reservation however of liberty to all future donors, to appropriate particularly their charities to whatever counties, or parishes they should think fit.

2dly, To take into work-houses, or alms-houses, all beggars, even every person applying to the parish for charity, equally in case either of sickness, or of health, without any distinction, even of the private poor, that is to say, of such as are ashamed of begging: because there ought to be no poor, of that nature, in a nation where it is no shame for any one to work.

3dly, To assign to every person so received into these work-houses, that sort of work of which he should be capable, in so much that the sick, and such as should be deprived of the use of all their senses, should alone be dispensed with from it.

4thly, To divide these work-houses into two wards, the one for the poor, who should work voluntarily: the other, for them

them to be carried to, in cases of necessary correction, and forced to work, should they refuse to submit to it.

5thly, It would also be very necessary to collect together, in one common House, all the children dispersed in the different schools and establishments of each parish. The care of their first years of life, and of breeding them up to work, would be better administered in one common House, than by parish nurses, who inhumanly sacrifice, even in the cradle, so many innocent victims, to their barbarous avarice: this is a truth incontestably proved by a comparison of the number of dead beneath the age of seven years, amongst the children nursed by the parish-nurses, and amongst those brought up in the Foundling Hospital.

6thly, Every work-house, or alms-house throughout England, should render an account of its administration, attested by the magistrates, or officers of each town, or parish, to the committee of the nation. These accounts would serve for checks upon one another. The Members for every county, should be called to the inspection of the account of the general administration, and upon the report of this general Committee, the poors-tax should

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should be settled, and passed by the Nation.

From such a form of administration as this, would result the following advantages.

The real misery of the sick, and disabled, would receive the relief which is due to it.

The malversation of particular administrations would be remedied.

The number of the poor would sensibly diminish. Many now receive private alms, who would then resolve to work, rather than receive public ones.

Society would be delivered from beggars, of whom the example, and enormities are so much to be dreaded.

The produce of the work of such as should be free to leave the house when they pleased, and the work of the poor under confinement, would be a clear and new profit to the Public.

The poors-tax would diminish considerably.

All the recensions of the above-deducted three classes of men, and of their subdivisions should be draughted, and framed, in each parish, by its respective churchwardens, aldermen, overseers of the poor, or the like proper officers. A short enough
time,

time, and a great deal of order and method would suffice to carry them to the requisite perfection for making all the use to be promised from them: without much expence.

MEANS of *encreasing* POPULATION, the
Encouragement of MARRIAGES, and NA-
TURALIZATION.

Of MARRIAGES.

It may perhaps be true, that that harmony of Society, which results from the subjection of marriages to the laws we know, may be the most perfect one producible by all the known laws, according to which man and woman are joined in that band, in order to fulfil the great dictate of nature: but it may not be true at the same time, that the marriage-institution in the form we at present enjoy it, is the most favorable system to a great population.

The importance, and indissolubility of such an engagement, may present to over-considerate minds, reflexions capable of damping that sweet and violent allurements, which naturally disposes to this union, and of poisoning the idea of that happiness one might expect from it. One would think

think there was never more occasion than at present for excitative, and even coercive laws, to bring into this state too many subjects, rebellious or deaf to the voice of Nature.

Yet, at this very time, under color of morality, and public decency, you may hear declaimers rising up, and inveighing against the facility of clandestine marriages. They would have added to the laws already prescribed for this union, new forms, new limitations, new restraints: but what would such clogs produce, unless indeed a diminution of the number of marriages? Is not every restrictive, or cramping formality destructive to the object on which it is imposed?

What such grievous inconveniences has this liberty of marriages hitherto produced, that it is no longer to be born? It will be said, disproportions of birth, and fortune in matches. But, what signify mis-alliances in a Nation, in which equality is upheld, and in esteem: in which nobility is not alone derived from an antient extraction: in which great honors are not exclusively appropriated to that extraction, but in which the Constitution favors the conferring the most distinguished honors upon those who shall have deserved them? besides,

sides, is not the union of the most disproportioned fortunes the best, and most advantageous policy for a State? Yet this vile, and sordid Interest it is, which far more than public decency, far more than the rights of parents over their children, is at the bottom of this insistence for annulling the liberty of marriages. It is rather the Rich, than the Noble, who impeach and clamor so loudly against it. If one should reckon up some matches, which the advice of parents might have perhaps better assented than the inclination of their children (which by the by is almost always matter of indifference to the State) will it not be a great weight in the other scale, to consider the number of marriages which the extravagance of parents, their unwillingness to part with any thing, the grief of being kept asunder, may suppress, or retard, in loss to the state, of those valuable, and too stinted years of fecundity in women? *

An

* By an act of the last Session 1753, it was ordained, with respect to England only, (Scotland, countries beyond-sea, the Royal Family, Quakers, and Jews, not being subjected to the said Act) that, to reckon from the 25th of March 1754.

Seven days before the publication of the bans
of

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An account of the marriages and births, in the several divisions of each of the three

of matrimony, each of the partys should furnish in writing his christian and sur-name, the name, and date of his abode, to the minister of the churches appointed for publication.

That the publication of the bans should be made successively on the three sundays preceding the celebration of the ceremony, in each of the parishes or public chapels nearest the habitation of the parties.

That the ceremony should be performed in one of the said parishes, or chapels; in which case, though the partys should be under 21 years of age, the publication and the marriage should be valid, if the father, mother, or guardians, &c. had made no opposition: the minister too not liable to reprehension.

That the celebration of the ceremony shall not take place in any other church than in one of those, in which the bans shall have been published, (unless there should be a dispensation, which shall not be granted but for the parish or chapel of the actual residence of the parties, during at least four weeks) otherwise the Minister to be transported for 14 years to the American plantations, as guilty of felony, and the marriage to be declared void, if impleaded within three years.

That in the case of marriages performed under favor of such a dispensation, the want of consent of father, mother, or guardians of the partys under 21 years of age, shall render them absolutely null, and of no effect.

That in all cases, the ceremony shall be performed in presence of two witnesses besides the Minister:

three classes, and the comparisons between them, would shew us.

First, That the numbers of unmarried men, and of loose women in towns, grow and exist in a reciprocal proportion the one to the other : thence so many quarrels and disorders in families.

2dly, That the great number of prostitutes, of which London alone reckons at least ten thousand, proceeds from the little regard which has been had to preserve to women those means of subsistence, which become their sex. The french fashion has instead of women head-dressers, cooks, chambermaids, introduced hair-cutters, peruke-makers, men-cooks, valets-de-chambre for ladies, &c.

3dly, That the stock-holders, at least the annuitants, people without employ, footmen, the poor, are generally speaking useless to population. Masters are averse to their servants marrying. Even Clergymen have the cruelty to refuse marrying those whom they know to be poor, under pretext that their children would become a new burthen to their parish.

4thly,

nister : the act to be signed by them and the partys : and public registers of the marriages to be kept in the parishes, &c.

4thly, Finally, that both misery, as well as excess of riches, joined to the luxury, and dissoluteness of towns, are become contrary both to the fruitfulness, and to the multiplicity of marriages.

To some of these disorders, so destructive to the human species, I presume humbly to propose certain remedies.

1st, To substitute, in lieu of the expence of public shows, and feasts, that of endowing, in the Country, or in manufacturing towns, a number of young men and women: of which France has given the example, at the birth of the Duke of Burgundy: *Etiam ab hoste consilium.*

2dly, To endow annually, in the Country, a number of young men and women, on condition of their clearing, for cultivation, a certain number of acres, the most conveniently situated for them: to which the lords of manors should be invited to contribute respectively on their estates, in consideration of the interest of the Public, and of their own.

3dly, To exempt, in the Country, from the poor's tax, every family that should have children, or any number that may be fixed.

4thly, In all public assemblies, to regulate

gulate the ranks between equals, according to the number of their children.

5thly, To declare all unmarried subjects incapable of filling the first places in the magistracy, administration of towns, communities, &c. in the profitable employments in the Revenue, such as Receivers, Collectors of taxes, and customs, and other public posts (with a reserve to grant proper dispensations, in consideration of the superior talents required for certain employs, and the Military also excepted) incapable, in short, of voting at elections, or of being chosen Members of Parliament.

6thly, To declare any benefit from collateral inheritances, universal legacies, or donations, forfeited by every batchelor above thirty years of age, unless he marries within the year of the commencement of his right.

7thly, To lay upon masters of servants, in proportion to the number they keep, one or more taxes of those underspecified, or composed out of them.

A tax upon the number of servants in town, not equally at so much per head, but in proportion to their number, as of 1, 4, 16, 64, &c. shillings, or in such other proportion as may be thought fittest.

A particular tax of pounds sterling,
L

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ling, for men cooks (instead of women-ones) butlers, and valet-de-chambres.

A tax of shillings for every foot-man about foot inches high, in order to reserve for agriculture, and the military service, the stoutest, comliest men.

A tax of shillings a head for every unmarried servant of either sex.

8thly, To enact a tax, which might be called *the tax on the unmarried*, of either sex, to be differently regulated by the ages of 15, 18, 21, 25 years and upwards, payable by their fathers, and mothers, or by themselves when come to the enjoyment of their rights, and fortunes.

A tax on widowers, and widows having no children.

On NATURALIZATION.

A decrease of population points out as naturally the necessity of inviting foreigners to come and encrease it, as a population too great, or no more than flourishing, points out the necessity, and convenience of emigration for a part of its subjects, into other countrys, there to acquire for themselves, and for their Country, new fortunes, and new lands.

An Act that should naturalize all foreigners, and protestants preferable to all others:

others : that is to say, a general Act which should exempt every foreigner who should come and settle amongst us, from the formalities, and expences of a private act of naturalization, or of a denisons-charter, was doubtless the only means, and the least effort we ought to have made, to induce men to quit their own country for ours. My Lord Bacon, Sir J. Child, and other good judges of the interest of the nation, had long ago felt, conceived, and declared the advantages and necessity of it. The seventh year of the reign of Queen Anne was remarkable for the general naturalization of protestant foreigners : but this wholesome law repealed three years after, through a spirit of party, scarce lasted time enough to become a public one. More than once has this law been attempted to be revived : but the voice of the People (and surely not that of God) has been raised against it, and constantly prevailed. Nevertheless all honor be to those generous minded patriots, who, in this cause, have more than once defended the interests of the Nation, without dreading the outrages, and madness of a mob, stupidly incensed against them. †

† In 1747, the question of the general Naturalization having been debated in Parliament, the people

But what hopes can there be of eradicating inveterate prejudices, handed down to our days, by an unjust tradition, and grafted upon the national character? or rather, how wipe off that so long deserved reproach, *Britannos hospitibus feros*?

For, in fact, if we turn to the records of our trade, in our remotest times, what traces do we not find of our barbarity? Laws which prohibited to aliens the selling their goods to other aliens, or the exporting any merchandize imported by another alien: the making any contract amongst us but in ready money: in short, that permitted seizing the goods of one alien, for payment of the debt of another alien! what excesses, what violences committed towards foreigners who had brought over their manufactures, and those too
new

of Bristol; amongst others, distinguished themselves by a strenuous opposition to this Bill, whilst on the other hand the Mayor, M. de la Roche, son of protestant refugees, and Mr. Josiah Tucker, minister of the same town, declared highly in its favor. The evening that the news came to Bristol of the Bill being thrown out, the populace made bonfires over all the town: the bells were rung, and these senseless rejoicings were crowned with burning the Mayor in his robes, with this inscription: *the Protestant Foreigner*; the Minister (Tucker) and the Pope, each in effigy of the natural size.

new ones, to us ! Taxes were laid upon these foreign artists who had not served their apprenticeship in England : they were forced to leave the Kingdom, or to quit their manufactories, and looms, to serve, as journeymen, under english masters.

Thence those exclusive corporations, those privileges of towns first obtained against foreigners, and afterwards exerted against their own countrymen : the natives of England themselves. Thence the once monopoly of the trade to Spain, France, Dantzick, the German seas, Holland, solicited and obtained by the merchants of London, with a right not to admit any one into their Company, but such as should pay 20*l.* entrance. Who does not again observe, in these prejudices, and in this mean jealousy, the principles of that tyrannical dependence under which we have kept Scotland, and Ireland : a dependence stretched far beyond the bounds which a just and prudent policy could exact !

Sir J. Child proposes the following question ;

Whether it would be for the interest of the Nation, to comprehend the Jews in the naturalization of the foreigners, and declares positively enough in favor of the affirmative.

An Act of the thirteenth year of the reign of George the Second (1740) has granted the rights of naturalization to such Jews, as should have resided for seven years successively, without longer absence than of two months, in our american colonies. It is well known, what fruitless efforts they have made, at diverse times, for obtaining, in extension of this favor, that they should be admitted to be naturalized, upon Bill presentable to Parliament, as well as all other foreigners. This cause has been more than once debated, but, in my sense of things, with reasons indifferent enough, in all conscience, on both sides, or at least with reasons, for the most part, common, or equally applicable to all foreigners.

In fact, what so great advantage can be promised, from the naturalization of the Jews, with respect to their boasted immense fortunes, unless one should think, that, in retribution for that favor, the Jewish nation will offer to pay the half of our national debt? Does our trade want funds? It wants them much less than it does the seeing new channels for it opened and multiplied. It is not subjects immensely rich, that it is material for us to acquire, but subjects whose moderate fortunes

tunes should obtain amongst us a great encrease, by means of their active industry, that principle of circulation.

On the other hand, what can be alledged against them? their stock-jobbing genius, their mis-belief? as if these inconveniences were new, or to be augmented by their naturalization. On the contrary, it seems a means of securing amongst us the fortunes of those it should fix here: they would insensibly lose that spirit of funding and stockjobbing with which their being deprived of any Country they could call their own, necessarily inspired them. In short, as to their religion, is not the benefit of naturalization a method more sure, and more humane of converting them, than an horrible *auto da fe*? || The ambition of being admitted to all the rights of other subjects, would bring many of them into our communion, and their children will be as true believers as any of ourselves. But it will not be any of these reasons that will bring on this event: the sum offered to the ministry, and the

L 4. and of our best res-

|| An Act of FAITH! in which Christians, so styling themselves, commit the bodies of those who do not believe as they do, to flames, in this world, and consign their souls to eternal damnation in the next.

resources it will promise to itself in future from it, will be the true motives of deciding for it. *

To return to the general naturalization of foreigners, that is to say, a qualification to acquire, without expence, the rights of that naturalization, by a residence in England; what can be opposed to a law so full of humanity and reason? God forbid the least credit should be given to the odious insinuations which, on this occasion, have been attempted to be disseminated, against the Family now on the throne. We are not come to that excess of misfortune, as to have a king over us, whose project or interest it would be to form to himself, in the very bowells of England, a people of foreign strangers, who

* By an Act of the sixth Session 1753, it is ordained, that to reckon from the 1st of June 1753, every Jew of the age of 18, and upwards, known to profess the jewish religion for three years before at least, who shall have resided in any part of the British dominions at least three years before, without longer absence than of three months, shall be admitted to be naturalized upon Bill presented to the Parliament: declared nevertheless incapable of acquiring any patronage, or right of presentation, any right to church-possessions, schools, hospitals, &c.

The clamors of the people have lately caused this Act to be repealed in the 7th session 1753.

who would not be more Englishmen by their hearts, than by their birth. I cannot then conceive what can be opposed to a general naturalization, unless the resistance of a blinded mob, which cries out that there are already but too many poor, and that it would be taking away the means of subsistence from the subjects who are employed. To this I answer, far less for the sake of answering the mob, than for that of paying to so good a cause the homage which is due to it.

First, That if, in fact, there are so many poor, real poor, that is to say, to whom the occasions of employment are wanting, this does not come from a superfluity of inhabitants, but from the want of a due circulation of work, and from the cramping the consumption, both caused by the restraints before deduced, and by the high price of work: so that any new subjects acquired to England, so far from being a burthen to it, would augment its riches, by bringing amongst us new arts of manufacture, new notions of trade, and by adding their industry to our own.

2dly, That the clamor of the violent opposition which the Nation has exerted against a general Naturalization, much more than even the charges and fees of

Naturalization, tho' considerable enough, keep away from our Country many foreigners, whom the desire of a better, or a new fortune, might tempt into it: many persecuted Protestants, who on the promulgation of so wise a law, would hasten to adopt for their country a nation, which above all others, enjoys the reputation of being free, and of holding Commerce in honor.

3dly, That of the foreigners, those only would come to take the benefit of such a law, who should have, in their own fortunes, or in their own industry, the means of subsisting, as past experience has proved.

Some of them would come to enjoy amongst us those fortunes, of which they have already lodged a part in our public funds: thus the Nation would gain yearly considerable sums, which the interest payable on their capitals in the stock, causes to be sent out of the Kingdom.

4thly, These industrious foreigners, the people is afraid of having come amongst us, are specifically those who deprive our poor of the means of subsistence, by working in their own country cheaper than we can do. It would then be a double gain for the Nation to make their country lose
the

the benefit of that work, by appropriating it to ourselves.

5thly, Should they be dispersed amongst our manufactories, what might be expected from them is this, that by competition, emulation, and advancement of industry, in short, by their example of thriftiness, they would force the merchants and workmen to content themselves with moderate profits.

6thly, That, if distributed into separate colonies, they should found new manufactories, as past experience might give leave to hope, in such case, even without themselves exercising agriculture, they would, by their consumption, contribute to extend it over before uncultivated lands.

7thly, That even should ten thousand foreigners draw nothing more from their work, than barely the expence of their consumption, without any profit, the State would still be ten thousand men the stronger for them.

8thly, That the produce of the taxes on consumption would thereby encrease, in ease of the expences and charges of the State, which would by no means be encreased on account of these new inhabitants.

9thly, That an encrease of people would be, for our plantations, an encrease of consumption, and encouragement for their culture; that reciprocally our subjects going in greater numbers to our colonies, would there raise the price of our commodities and manufactures.

10thly, and finally, that England can with ease maintain half as many again inhabitants, as what it now actually contains, if one may judge from its exports of corn, and from the extent of its uncultivated lands. That this Kingdom is, perhaps of all the kingdoms in Europe, the most qualified for a great population by its natural fertility, and by the facility of communication between its different provinces, by short enough ways either by sea or land: advantages denied to France, or to other States, who have great tracks of land to cross, and who have neglected making proper channels of communication.

VI. *On the RICHES in CIRCULATION.* *On the NATIONAL DEBT. On TAXES.*

THere are a hundred projects for rendering a State wealthy, and powerfull, to one single one, of which the aim would be, to make every private person enjoy his due share of the wealth and power of the State. For a century back, many private persons have profusely risked, or sacrificed their lives and fortunes to the making of the State more rich and more powerfull: but are they themselves the richer, or the happier for it? Is the State, in reality become more rich, or more powerfull? Are things then so constituted, that the interest of the Public stands in opposition to the interest of private persons? or is it not so, that the interest of the ministers of the State, is often called the interest of the State?

Glory, Greatness, Power of the Nation: how vain and how void of sense are these sounds, compared to those of the Liberty, Ease, and Happiness of the Subject! Or rather, can there be another way imagined to render a nation rich and powerfull, than to make the several members of it partake in the riches of the Nation, by
means

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means of a distribution wisely proportioned?

The national riches are, fertile lands, manufactures, trade, and gold and silver which are the produce of them: but what are these riches but springs of the political machine, to which proper powers must be applied to put them in motion?

If there yet remain uncultivated lands; if there are a great number of poor in a nation, it must be from some faults or defects of administration, which hinder the distribution of lands from taking place, or subsisting.

If trade and manufactures do not go on continually opening to themselves new branches, new ways and means, it is doubtless because the restraints on them, do not permit every one freely from reaping in a field, of which the productions are without number, or limits.

If gold and silver are not in circulation, of what more use or avail are they, than gold and silver in the mine before it is opened?

The advantages too of circulation are not very material, if it is made to flow through, under- or over-proportioned channels. Take, on one side, a single fortune of 25 thousand a year, and on the other
side

side 25 families of a thousand a year each : then compute on each side the number, and detail of the servants in Town and Country, the consumptions as to quantity, and nature, the number of marriages, &c. the effects of circulation will be found much of more extensive advantage, with respect to the employment of individuals, and of consumption, in the second, than in the first example.

In a State, as in the human body, health and sickness, life and death capitally depend on a circulation well or ill established, continued or interrupted, of the riches in one, and of the fluids in the other.

In a solitary, disjoined Nation, that was to have no relation whatever with other nations, the quantity of gold, silver, or of any other circulating representation of value, would be matter of indifference. It is not so, in the Society established between nations who have set up, or taken Gold and Silver for a common sign, or measure for their riches : because, every thing else being equal, that nation which have the most gold and silver, in circulation, will be the strongest. Now, in the state of war, open or understood, continually subsisting between all Nations, the
being

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being the strongest, is not a matter of indifference.

Gold and silver, amongst those nations who have no mines, are the produce of their Commerce: and amongst nations rivals in trade, every thing else being equal, that nation which sells the cheapest will carry on the greatest trade. But the gold and silver, which the merchant receives from the abroad-trade, being only in exchange for the gold and silver with which he has paid for his merchandize, to the merchant in the home-trade: that quantity of gold, and silver, coming to encrease by the profits of that exchange; the price of the merchandise will also encrease, if the quantity of the merchandize that is made, and of that which is exported remains the same.

This disproportion and dearness will still encrease more, if the common sign of gold and silver is multiplied by such representations, as Bank-bills, and other paper-currencys of the Government, Companies, &c. But the price of every thing will rise in yet a greater proportion, than the quantity of gold and silver will encrease, if the distribution of this gold and silver is extremely unequal. If the half of the Nation
possesses

possesses two thirds of the gold and silver of it, it will pay a higher price for what it wants, than the other half, and will force it to follow its price.

Then will the price of things in trade, become such at home, that there will be little or no profit to be got by carrying them to foreign market, and trade will stagnate, and be at an end. One part of the Nation will become poor, and the population of it sensibly diminish.

In a State well-peopled, to which commerce and manufactures are novelties, or which shall have opened to itself a new trade, the importation of gold and silver, is much a longer time, before it makes that inconvenience be felt, which arises from its abundance: because, as fast as money becomes plentiful, industry displays itself: the demands of luxury are multiplied: the number of workmen encreases: new branches of foreign trade open; money is rare in proportion to these employments for it, and to the work they occasion. The importance of the effects produced by the encrease of gold and silver, according to this hypothesis, shews what ought to be the uneasiness, and vigilance of a nation, in which these effects begin to be no longer operated, but with difficulty and struggling.

But

But what can we think of the policy of a nation, which, at its point of abundance, has begun to multiply to excess the representative signs of gold, and silver, and has raised the price of its commodities, and materials of trade, whilst the occasions for work, and employ, diminished by restraints laid on its trade, have been forcing it to provide for the subsistence of a great number of its subjects, kept in idleness.

This is however what England has done by the abuse of it's credit, and the multiplicity of it's taxes.

What the fruit of this policy has been, and what the success of it must be, the state of the national debt will show us.

Of the EFFECTS of the ABUSE of the NATIONAL CREDIT.

The Whole of the home-trade may be divided into two parts; the one a very narrow one, consisting of the mutual barter of merchandize: the other, by the exchange of merchandize for gold and silver, or, on credit of the dealers. To this sum of circulating funds, the Nation, by a constantly growing abuse of its credit, has added within these sixty years, about four-score

score millions sterling * of paper-currency, negotiable upon the Change, and with even an advantage over the coined one, under the name of Public Funds, which some have been pleased to call our artificial wealth; so that if you add together the sum of the current coin, the original capital of the different debts of the Nation, encreased from 4, 10, 30, to 90 per cent. that some of these funds are sold for above par, the Bank-bills, Exchequer-notes, India-bonds, † there will not be found less than a sum of an hundred and twenty millions sterling (two thousand seven hundred and sixty millions of livres) doubtless a prodigious sum, and out of all proportion to the quantity of foreign or home specie current in trade, which I compute at eighteen millions only, according to the best authorities, of writers, and others the most thoroughly acquainted with these matters, whose calculates have not for these twenty years varied but from fifteen to eighteen millions. Sir Gerard V——ck was the first who durst carry it to thirty millions, and for the first time at the Duke of N——le's

* 1840 millions of livres.

† Amounting to near 4 millions sterling, renewed every six months, and carrying an interest of 3 per Cent.

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N——le's, in presence of a full levy. This was in the time of the last war, when it was for his interest to talk so, to favor the subscriptions to the loans, which the Government employed him to get filled, in order to continue it. This was however believed by none, unless perhaps by himself, and by Mr. A. Hooke, who repeated it afterwards in his *Oracles of Bristol*: but this oracle has met with but little faith. It is not easy to persuade the world that the sum of effective cash has almost doubled within these sixty years, when one considers all that must have gone out of the Kingdom, for the expence and maintenance of our armies abroad, during three long and expensive wars; for foreign subsidies payed in time of war, and of peace; for the interest of the sums belonging to foreigners, in our funds: in short, what has passed of it to Hanover. And, on the other hand, how little could have been made to return of it, by a trade loaded with enormous, and constantly growing imposts, of customs, duties, excise, &c. and considerably diminished by the encreased dearness of commodities, and by the almost incredible augmentation of the industry and commerce of Nations our rivals, during this period of time.

But

But be the thing as it will, the excessive growth of our circulating funds has necessarily changed the proportion which existed between merchandize and money : and as that change has been too sudden, and has not been the same in other trading nations : the price of commodities must have risen more sensibly in England, than amongst our rivals, all other circumstances being supposed equal.

This borrowing-coffer, which the Nation has never shut since the first day that it opened it, has been continually filling with the money of those, who have begun to prefer a certain interest, payed every six months, to the slow and precarious profits of Trade. What a loss for the State must have arisen from this new employ of money ! As things formerly stood, the foreigners payed the interest of it, by the ballance of trade ; at present, the Nation it is that pays it.

The profits from that usury, transacted by the moneyed men, with a necessitous Government, repeated without measure, and concentered in a small number of hands, have augmented the inequality in the distribution of riches. Every subject has payed his share of the expences contributable to the wants of the Government,
and

and moreover, the interest of those sums, to those who had furnished the advances on them : in such manner, that these having become richer, whilst the others have, at the same time, been impoverished, the reiterated exigencies of the State have augmented the difficulty of the levys upon the poor, and at the same time the dependence of the Government upon the moneyed men, in all occasions of borrowing. ||

In

|| Usury, or taking up money at interest, is for the State, as well as for private persons, a resource in cases of need, but a more usefull one for the State, when private persons transact it with one another, than when the State transacts it with private persons : and it is ruinous for the State when it deals with foreigners. But the excess of usury, that is to say, an exorbitant interest, and the abuse which the State makes, and is sometimes forced to make of this resource, most certainly take their rise from that excessive inequality in the distribution of riches; whence some private persons are rich in the midst of a poor State. If then the wrong principles of this distribution are not successfully attacked, all the efforts of laws levelled against the excesses and abuse of usury, will be for ever without avail, as they have been in all times. Free, unrestrained industry, has alone the power of dispensing, and distributing the riches of Trade, and Agriculture, amongst the subjects, in the most favorable proposition to circulation.

In short, the solidity of the national credit has extended this abuse as far as it could go: the foreigners, through a confidence ruinous for us, have lodged in our public funds, though at a more moderate interest than elsewhere, considerable sums: they are computed to amount to no less than to a fourth, and by some to a third, of the national debt. We have nevertheless believed ourselves rich with the riches of others, and scarce are we yet undeceived, though the lowering of the Exchange might certify to us the large remittances, we make every half-year to foreigners, for the interest of their stock. The capital of it is still due: that capital which has been payed, and overpaid, to them in interest. If in the last wars this disadvantage in the Exchange was less sensibly felt, it was owing to the happy resource we found in the abundance of our corn, and the dearth of it in the countries of our foreign creditors. Judge now of the good sense, or of the candor of those who envy or who boast of our artificial riches: who pretend that the national debt is nothing: that it is the right hand which owes to the left hand: but even should that be the only effect of this debt: is it not itself a very great evil that the right-hand

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hand should grow every day more and more indebted to the left hand? a member which gains a monstrous growth at the expence of the substance of the others, which thereby become withered and paralytic, does it not threaten the body with a total destruction?

CAUSES and PROGRESSES of the NATIONAL DEBT.

The wars in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, the offensive and defensive alliances of the reigning Family with the Continent, furnish us with the epochs of the origin and progress of the national debt. They were the cause, or at least the pretext of them. All the Acts of Parliament which have authorised the expences, and established the poverty of the Nation, declare in their preamble, that the money of the subject is designed to carry on the war with vigor against *France*, and the other enemies of the Nation. These wars were violent, and obstinate. Treaties of Peace are no longer dictated by that inspired spirit of concord which touches every heart: they are no longer other than the sad effect of the weariness, and exhausted forces of the combatants. How far those wars were necessary; how glorious

glorious they have been; whither our tranquillity and power have been the better established for them, are questions hitherto undecided amongst politicians. But, by the state of our debts, any one may judge how dear that glory and these interests have cost England. And any one may modestly presume, that if a small part of those immense expences had been employed to push our true interests in America; sole masters of a Continent which is now disputed with us by a rival nation, we had left no pretext for a vain quarrel about limits.

When William mounted the throne, the sum-total of the debts of the Nation was under 700 thousand pounds sterling (16 millions of livres.) His reign, in thirteen years, carried the expences of the Nation to 70 millions sterling (1610 millions of livres) of which there remained due at his death in 1702, ten millions sterling (230 millions of livres.)

The twelve years and a half of the reign of Queen Anne cost the Nation 75 millions of expence, and in 1714 the debts exceeded 53 millions sterling. (1219 millions of livres.)

The thirteen years of the pacific reign of George I. seemed to owe us the promise

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mise of some diminution of the national debt: but George, in 1727, left it as he had found it, within 200 thousand pounds sterling, that is to say, still at 53 millions sterl. (1,219 millions of livres.)

After the eleven first years of the present reign (of George II.) which preceded the war, the accounts of the national debt allowed in Parliament (exclusive of that of the Navy) carried it above 46 millions sterling. The war from 1740 to 1741, ran it up to 71.340,397 *l.* sterling.

The charges were 55 millions sterling.

		<i>l.</i> sterl.
In 1750, the debt was	—	75 028,886
In 1751	— — — — —	74.309,562

In 1752, the debt stood at	74.368,451
To which add the Navy-debt	1.665,493
And the million borrowed on } the tax on the pensions	1.000,000

And you will find the actual } sum of the debt <i>l.</i> sterl.	77.033,944
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(or 1.761,780,712 livres) of which the interest, notwithstanding all the operations of its reduction, amounts annually to about three millions sterling (sixty-nine millions of livres.)

They,

They, doubtless, were not friends to the Nation, who advised William to make himself sure of the hearts of his subjects, by making himself master of their fortunes, by means of these public loans, of which the solidity and interest might be the baits: an expedient successfully employed of yore by Pope Sixtus V. to bring the Romans under an unlimited subjection. The Ministry of Queen Anne, and those of the two following reigns have willingly adopted a policy so favorable to the royal authority. The personal interests of members of Parliament in both Houses, and the influence of corruption have often stifled the impotent cries of the Nation against the progresses of an Evil, which is become too evident, and too sensible.

Three famous Companies, under the name of the Bank, East-India, and South-Sea Companies, have been the springs and machines, which have built up the monstrous pile of our debts.

A loan made to the Government, in 1694, of the sum of 1.200,000 *l* sterling, at 8 per cent. reimbursable after 1703, gave birth to that great Company, which under the name of *the Governor and Company of the Bank of England*, has concentrated in itself, as in a point, the whole

credit of the Nation, and the trust of the Subject. By means, and in consideration of several other sums which the Bank has since lent to the Government in its wants and exigencies, and of several reductions of interest consented to, as to 4, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and 3 per cent. it has had so much merit, as to be continued to 1732, 1742, and lastly to 1764: and its credit upon the Government has risen to above ten millions sterling (230 millions of livres.)

The preference which its notes have obtained over cash, the great sums of which private persons make it depositary, the great and repeated profits it makes in its money dealings with private persons, and upon its advances to the Government, from which it receives 120 or 130 thousand pounds annual interest (near 30 millions of livres) to be divided amongst its stock-holders, and proprietors of the annuities with which it has charged itself, form the mystery, the foundation, and the means of its credit: but the more prodigies this credit operates, that is to say, the more the greatness of the disproportion between its real means, and its engagements encrease, the more must the impossibility encrease of satisfaction in the critical moment of a discredit. There is

no remembring, without shuddering, the alarms and the distress to which it found itself driven in 1745, when the Pretender's son was not above 120 miles (40 french leagues) from London: the public declaration then made, and the association then formed amongst a number of merchants, proprietors in the public funds, not to refuse payment, in bank notes, doubtless contributed more to save it, than the paultry expedient of paying in small money by way of gaining time: but if the rebels had not soon been compelled to retire, on the failure of the succors they expected from a descent in the northern part of the County of Norfolk, what must have become of the Bank? what credit would it then have found? and what aids could have supported it? in such a disaster, it might have perhaps been some consolation, the having a plausible occasion for a forced bankruptcy with respect to foreigners, and thereby to have lost for ever the ruinous honor of their confidence.

Under the same reign (of K. William) in 1698, two millions sterling lent to the Government, brought into existence a new *East-India Company*, soon after united with the antient one, continued from 1711 to our days, and to continue till 1780, in

favor of the successive reductions of interest to which it has consented, and of other sums lent by it, which have carried its capital to 4.200,000 *l.* sterl. (96 millions 600 thousand livres.)

In the 9th year of the reign of Queen Anne, the Government stood in need of a sum of about nine millions and a half sterling, on account, for the most part, of the naval debt, which had been long payed in navy-tickets and debentures, that were then at a discount of 40 and 50 per cent. of exchange for cash. A Company which called in that discredited 'paper-currency, offered to lend the nine millions sterling, at six per cent. and obtained the exclusive privilege of trade to the *South Seas*, and other parts of America, from whence it took the name of South-Sea Company; the Government has since stood indebted to it, at one time, about thirty millions sterling: and after some re-imbursements, and reductions of interest to 4 and 3 per cent. it has remained creditor for 25 millions sterling (575 millions of livres.)

Such have been the destructive resorts of a Nation, plunging deeper and deeper into debt, and dragged on into certain ruin, by the most burthenfome ways and means of borrowing, such as annuities for one,
two,

two, and three lives, loans negotiated upon mortgaged revenues, with interest and premium on the advances, money taken up by way of lotteries, at the interest of 9, 6, 5, and 4 per cent. with premiums of 25, 30, to 34 per cent. Exchequer-bills, renewed for three or four years, from three months to three months, the compound interest being successively added to the principal from quarter to quarter at the rate of 6 per cent : It is, I say, by so ruinous an administration of the finances, and by the enormous profits of the lenders with the Government, that the Nation has seen itself more and more intangled in its bonds, and that the weight of them is become more and more cumbersome, oppressive, and difficult to shake off.

The immensity of the national debts doubtless demonstrates, in the most pressing manner, how important it is to provide for their reimbursement ; in order to put an end to the ruinous interest now paid by the Public on them, and to exonerate the revenue of the State. The necessity of this has been felt so far back as the year 1717, when there was formed a general fund, since called the Sinking Fund, dedicated to this use. The South-Sea Company proposed to us in 1719 a new resource,

source, when it offered to take up above 33 millions sterling of the public debts, redeemable and non-redeemable, for the like sum in new transferable stock, of which it allowed that the interest should be reduced by the Government to 4 per cent. after 1727; the difference from that reduction being to be carried to account of the reimbursement of the capital debt.

The jealousy of the Bank, who by its offers to the Government, forced that Company to engage itself to a farther payment of five millions sterling in acquittal of the national debt, gave so great an idea of the bargain, that even before the Act was passed, the South-sea stock had got up to 375 per cent. This infatuation grew greater and greater from the eagerness of the Public, and the common talk of the Directors, who, upon the pretended profits of the Company's trade, promised not less than 30, 40, and 50 per cent. dividend for the last six months of 1720. The Company, whose first intention had been to open subscriptions only to the proprietors of the national debt, was forced to open successively four money subscriptions, on the foot of 300, 400, 800, and 1000*l.* per 100 of the new stock, which were precipitantly filled: the two first only
amounted

amounted to above nine millions sterling, of which a million and a half was payed in ready cash.

It may be remembered how the charm was broke, even before the operation was consummated. A desire of realizing having succeeded to the rage of subscribing, the number of the sellers was found to so much exceed that of the buyers, that before the close of 1720, the stock at 1000 was fallen to 200.

The Parliament succeeded ill in repairing the disorders caused by these operations, which were as liable to the suspicion of unfairness as of imprudence, when it declared those subscriptions valid. The tax of about seventeen hundred thousand pounds sterling, imposed on the estates of thirty-three Directors, then reputed worth near two millions sterling, and divided amongst the proprietors of the Company's new stock, proved but a poor satisfaction to all those who had bartered their money, and shares in the National debt, for shares and subscriptions in that Company. Thus the fortunes of a number of private persons were destroyed, and the Nation found it self just as poor as it was before.

The SINKING FUND.

In the mean time the Sinking Fund, formed in 1717, seemed to afford more solid hopes. More than fifty branches of Duties, before partly mortgaged, were made perpetual, and the produce of them appropriated to it, as fast as they should become free of the assignments on them. The annual produce of this fund exceeded twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling so early as the year 1727, notwithstanding the sums which had been diverted from it: and a fair calculate demonstrates that one million annually reimbursed, with the savings of interest added thereto, from the sums reimbursed, would have in less than thirty years acquitted above fifty millions of our debts: whereas, by a deplorable fatality, even during the length of pacific years, with which Heaven favored the reigns of George I. and George II. sundry expences occasioned by the connexions of the Reigning Family with the Continent: annual subsidies payed to foreigners from five hundred thousand to a million sterling, in times of war: the civil list * carried from

* The civil list is composed of the peculiar revenue

from five hundred to near a million sterling: in short, the current service have yearly absorbed that fund, which ought to have been sacred. On the other hand, the sum of the national debt has been considered as sacred, in a contrary sense, since every reign, so far from diminishing, has scrupulously added to it, as conscientiously as the monarchs of India add to the Royal treasure which has been left them by their predecessors.

The Sinking Fund carried up to above 1.400,000 *l.* a year in 1749, is already risen to above 1.700,000 *l.* and will exceed two millions sterling, by means of the difference of the reduction of interest on above 57 millions sterling from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent. to reckon from the 25th Decemb. 1750, and from the 25th Decemb. 1757. But the example of the past has made us so distrustfull for the future, that it has been almost reproached to a most worthy Patriot, who advised and demonstrated possible so advantageous a reduction, that he had no better than prepared new means for new expences.

venue of the Crown, and certain sums granted to the King for the maintenance of his House-hold, and other expences and charges of the Crown.

To conclude this article, if one considers the means, and effects of the several reductions successively operated since the Revolution : the ready quickness with which in 1748 the subscription of a loan of a million sterling at 3 per cent. was filled, the motives which in the last declaration of a reduction of interest, determined a great part of the proprietors of the national debt at 4 per cent. to prefer 3 per cent. to commence from December 1757, with an assurance of enjoying $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from 1750 to 1757, to the reimbursement with which they were threatened in a very short time : the eagerness with which the other part of the public creditors, who had not subscribed in the terms of the Act, took the benefit of the delay allowed them for subscribing, accepting as a favor, the punishment inflicted on them for their tardiness, of granting them the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only to December 1755, one may discover several truths, which, it is grievous no doubt, that there should be no possibility of dissimbling to one self, to wit,

THAT the aim has constantly been rather to encrease the Sinking Fund, than to sink the debt effectually : that when the reductions of interest were operated by reimbursement

imbursements, the amount of the debt was not lessened, owing to the borrowings, at the same time being at least equal to the re-imbursement : nay, that it has even been encreased by the borrowing of fresh sums upon the gain by the reduced interest.

THAT the three great Companies devoted to the Government, or rather to the advantage they found in lending money to it, has been the too fatal cause of that facility the nation has met with, in plunging itself into debt.

THAT these Companies had found it consistent with their interest, to place out again with the Government, even at a reduced interest, those great profits they had made out of it.

THAT a hundred and ten Governors and Directors of these Companies, in place, out of place, and ready to return into place, desirous of the good graces of the Court, and engaged by what is remitted to them on the sums they advance, have even forced those Companies to reductions of interest against their will and intention, by taking upon themselves to open subscriptions, of which they were sure of soon seeing a profit by the shares being negotiated above par on the Royal Exchange.

THAT

THAT these creatures of the Ministry, these three Companies, give the Ministry a dreadfull advantage over the Nation, especially in that intimate correspondence which mutual interests have established between the Bank and the Court: on the side of the Bank, for the sake of the profits it makes, on the loans to it out of those funds it has at its disposal, and which it multiplies at discretion, and upon the circulation of the Exchequer Notes, &c. On the side of the Court, for the sake of the prompt and powerfull aids it receives from the Bank, without the participation of Parliament, and which it applies to the advancement of its particular views.

THAT the sum of these debts constantly encreasing, and in the same proportion the sum of their interest, from an exact payment of it, in, and amongst the hands of the proprietors of the national debt, have been always a reason to them for accepting a less and less interest, and that it is almost sure that a reduction may be attained of the interest on the national debt to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. after the year 1757.

THAT the dread of being re-imburshed by the Government clearly points out the abasement into which land is fallen, and at the same time the violent state, and contractedness

tractedness of a Trade, which does not obtain a preference over the placing out of money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

THAT in Parliament, by a fatality hard to surmount, all the members of the Country, as well as of the Court-party, concur with an equal ardor to stave off the re-imbursement of the national debt; if they are landed-men, by their opposition to any new burthens on their lands, which might accelerate the clearance: if they are proprietors in the national debt, from the advantage they find in not being reimbursed.

THAT the more the sinking-fund shall encrease, either by the reductions of interest, or by the affluence of the funds incorporable with it, as fast as they get clear, the more will the means extend of encreasing the national debts by the borrowing of new sums upon those funds: that, in short, the more the national debt shall encrease, the nearer will approach that inevitable moment of the deplorable catastrophe of the National credit.

Unde novus rerum ordo renascetur.

Of TAXES.

Wars, interests foreign to the Nation, indiscreetly pursued and defended, have produced

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produced debts ; those debts repeated have occasioned the multiplication of taxes : the want of exactness in re-imburſing, has cauſed their continuation, and perpetuity.

The hiſtory of taxes of all kinds, which have compoſed the revenues of the Crown and Nation, ſince the conqueſt to this day, would doubtleſs take up an immense enumeration : but the ſtate of thoſe which actually ſubſiſt, preſents an adequate enough idea of them. Within this laſt Century, our imagination has been admirable fertile in creating new ones, or in reviving old ones, under new ſhapes : ever keeping equal pace with our debts, they have been from annual, become fixed for two or three years, afterwards prolonged, in ſhort perpetuated : and multiplied *ad infinitum*. Fifteen, or ſixteen branches of duties, which exiſted under Charles II. of which hardly fix were perpetual, have begot above an hundred, of which the greateſt part ſubſiſts to this day.

This State preſent to us the CUSTOM-HOUSE duties, collected on importation, with allowance indeed of a draw-back in caſe of exportation within a limited time, but always over-burthenſome to Trade, whether preſently payed down, or on truſt upon bonding for them : becauſe this method

thod of practice employs great sums of stock unprofitably for the merchant, and does not leave him the liberty of choosing the most favorable times of sale: duties besides so multiplied and so complicated, that the collection of them being become perfectly a deep science for the surveyors, and a mystery for the merchants, has bred questions which have divided the opinions of our ablest accomptants, and required the decision of Parliament upon them.

Duties upon the Tobacco, so unaccountably calculated, that a foreigner shall buy it with us at $2d. \frac{1}{2}$ the pound, whilst an Englishman shall pay $8d. \frac{1}{8}$. And notwithstanding the bounty of $3s. 0d. \frac{1}{2}$ for six pounds of manufactured Tobacco, receivable at the time of exportation, six pounds of Tobacco exported by an Englishman will stand him in $1s. 11d. \frac{1}{2}$, whilst six pounds exported and manufactured by a foreigner shall only cost him $1s. 5d. \frac{1}{2}$, which making a difference of 35 per cent. must deserve to the foreigner some preference over us in the foreign markets, not to mention the advantage he has of investing but 100 lb. where we must invest 345, in the same quantity of commodity.

Duties collected in some of our islands on the exportation of their products, allotted

lotted to the improvement of our colonies, but applied here to other uses.

Duties on the exportation of coals, salt, candles, &c. and upon the imports of whales from our fisheries.

Duties of the EXCISE, additional, and super-additional, on the make and home-consumption of the merchandize, and commodities the most necessary to life, or which are the most natural materials of our Commerce: duties, which through the multiplicity of their objects, have multiplied Surveyors, Commissioners, &c. all places at the devotion of the Court; duties, pernicious in their management to the liberty of the Subject, and to the liberty of the Nation, by the influence which the exactors of those duties, have over the minds and votes of the consumers in the time of elections, by their threats, their rigor, or their indulgence.

The Malt-tax, of which the produce has been found so great, and of a collection so easy, so little liable to fraud, and so little expensive, that it has been punctually continued from year to year for sixty years: a tax which the poor pay, upon the whole of the beer they buy, (besides the duties on retail in the publican way) whilst the rich scarce pay the half of it, being admitted

mitted to compound for what they make at home, at the rate of five shillings per head in their families.

Duties upon soap and candles, hops, paper, cards, &c. upon tanned hides in England, at more than thirty per cent. of their value.

Duties upon salt, so immediately opposed to the advancement of our fisheries, and from which it was so long before they were freed: a tax at the same time the most chargeable in the collection of it, since it did not carry into the Exchequer the clear half of the sum collected.

Duties upon Tea, subject indeed to a draw-back upon exportation, but so exorbitant before their very recent reduction, that there used to be almost as much smuggled in, as fairly entered. An abuse, doubtless, and a very great one, but still a less than that of smuggling over wines and brandies, especially from France, caused by their excessive duties: a fraudulent commerce, of which the disadvantage is double for England, since it is carried on in exchange for our wool and for our guineas, with which it fills the ports of France, and of Holland, nearest to our coasts.

I shall here remark by the way, that taxes upon consumptions in general, have been

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been preferred to others for many reasons, the most part of them specious, (without mentioning the particular motives which might seduce the legislators themselves in their favor) as for example.

Because these taxes are the most general ones, that is to say, such as it is the least possible to evade, or get exempted from, especially the more their object is that of necessary consumption.

Because the duty seems of light weight ; and, at the same time, of almost an infinite produce, by the infinite subdivision of the petty sums of which it is composed.

Because it is not an arbitrary, or violent imposition, and seems to be freely payed, since every one may fix, at his own discretion, the bounds of his consumption.

In fine, because foreigners pay to us a great portion of these duties, added to the price of the commodities they buy from us.

But it cannot, at the same time, be denied,

Ist, THAT these taxes incur the objection of being unequal, and unjust, in that, for the portion of things absolutely necessary to life, the poor and the rich pay the same sum : insomuch that whereas the people being supposed divided into two parts pretty near equal, of which the
one

one has only its industry to live upon, the other possesses riches, enjoys, and pays the labor of the other: these two halves, so different in their abilities, share nevertheless equally the weight of these taxes upon all the commodities, or rather necessities, of which the consumption admits of little or no abuse or luxury. The contribution is light, for the batchelors or single persons, in easy and idle circumstances: but is excessive for those usefull subjects, of whom the families are numerous, and the fortunes narrow.

2dly, If the so considerable produce of these taxes was not greatly reduced by the charges of management, and levy of them, why multiply, and repeat them, as has so often been done, on the same articles, till the diminution of their consumption, has at length given warning of alleviating the duty?

3dly, We have flattered ourselves too much, if we have believed that on augmenting the taxes upon the consumption, we should bring our workmen to the sobriety, or frugality of a Frenchman, who lives, or rather starves, upon roots, chestnuts, bread and water; or to the thriftiness of a Dutchman, who contents himself with dried fish, and butter-milk.

When

When our workmen can no longer raise the price of their work to their mind, there still remain two great refuges to them from labor, the Parish, and Robbing.

4thly, The taxes upon consumption necessarily raising the price of commodities, if they go on encreasing, that part which the foreigners are supposed to pay, must diminish in proportion, through the consequential diminution of the quantity of our commodities consumed abroad.

We have two proofs of the excessive rise of the price of our manufactures and products.

The one, the great excess of the price of the sugars of our islands over that of other nations, quality for quality, caused by the excessive price of the commodities they draw from England, so much beyond the price of those sent by France and other nations to their colonies. Such, at least, is the very probable reason alledged by Jamaica and our windward islands for the excessive price of their sugars, verified since the war, dearer at London from 40 to 70 per cent. than at Bourdeaux those of the french islands, quality for quality. This was at the same time a plausible motive for their sollicitation to the Parliament, for a permission of drawing certain commodities

commodities from France, and other places where they were to be had cheaper: an invitation, one would imagine, public enough to foreigners, to introduce them by smuggling them in.

The other proof, is the Bounty, or gratification, we have fallen upon granting on the exportation of certain articles of our commerce, to enable our merchants to support a competition with foreigners in the markets abroad: a very wise remedy no doubt, which too it will be necessary to extend to other branches of our Commerce, in proportion as the industry of France, and the success of the new manufactures which in Switzerland, Germany, and the North, are daily springing up, shall oblige us to it: yet, on an analysis of this operation, supposing even that this gratification, or bounty, pays back a sum equal to the taxes on consumption, it will be found that the duties are collected, and paid back without any advantage, and that the charges of collection, and paying back, are so much neat loss.

But there will be no being persuaded, that the bounty can be sufficient to repair the damage done to Commerce by the taxes upon consumptions, if one may defer
to

to the sentiment of Sir Matthew Decker, a judicious author, and of known impartiality; he proves by an exact, and moderate calculation, into which he was led by Locke and Davenant, that the taxes upon consumptions, and crude materials, are more than doubled upon the merchandize by the augmentation which the taxes take, in being payed and repayed by all the hands through which the merchandize passes, before it arrives at the consumers; and by the augmentations which this increased sum adds to the price of the crude materials, to the price of work, to the expence of the workmen and merchants in their own proper consumption, to the profit of the merchant, which must come out of the price of the merchandize, that has undergone, and comprehends all these augmentations, * &c.

Add

* He takes for example the tax upon leather, by means of which he finds the price of shoes is charged with twelve augmentations which the leather has payed, in passing successively from the hands of the grazier, through those of the butcher, tanner, and his workmen, the leather-cutter, shoemaker and his workmen. Here are already seven proportional augmentations of dearness for the shoes which themselves use, an expence which every one of them

Add to all this sum of the Custom- and Excise-duties thus doubled, the sum of the other taxes, land-tax, poors-rate, &c. it

them must regain on leather itself: then the augmentation of the tax itself, and four augmentations in proportion to the profit which must be made by the butcher, the tanner, the cutter, and the shoemaker, out of the price thus swelled of the leather.

A like tax will operate the same effect on the make of candles, soap, and beer.

But these graziers, tanners, shoemakers, &c. all consume for their own use candles, beer, soap, and other necessary commodities: here are then again twelve respective augmentations on the price of shoes, from every one of those articles.

Now all who contribute to the fabric and commerce of cloths, for example, from the shepherd to the wholesale merchant, use shoes; and every one of them must charge the augmentation of the price of them upon the wool, and upon the numberless fashionings it must receive before it is made into cloth. Thus the augmentations of the tax upon leather, and of all and any other tax on the consumption of necessaries, will be repeated, *ad infinitum*, till all these sums are ultimately payed in a lump by the last consumer. It will not then be hard to believe, that before coming to him, the tax will have been more than doubled: especially, if it is observed, that the tax is by every one of those who pay it, and recover it again upon the merchandise, encreased at least the interest of the advance he has made, reckoning from the first who pays the naked tax of it.

it will be found, that the sum total of these taxes is at 31 per cent. of the annual expence of the whole people of England, whom he computes at eight millions of men, at 8 *l.* sterling per head (184 livres) since the war preceding the publication of his work. I ask after that, where is the nation with which we can enter into a competition of commerce upon equal terms; and what mighty matter is the two per cent. advantage we boast over some of our rivals in the interest of money, towards restoring the level between them and us?

But to resume the interrupted enumeration of taxes, you will find, Taxes upon apprentices, upon hawkers and pedlars, upon marriages, births, burials, upon stage- and hackney-coaches (those of private persons being exempted †) that is to say taxes oppugnant to industry and population, upon the wants of the Poor, and not upon the luxury of the Rich.

Stamp-duties, which do not take in less than three hundred articles subjected to them,

† This has ceased to be intirely true, since a tax has been laid on all wheel-carriages, without notable exception, but whether in a just proportion is a query.

them, and which contribute to the selling justice full dear to the Subject.

Taxes upon letters, and packets by the Post, become so burthensome, that Trade and commercial dealings have reason to complain of not being enough respected in them.

Taxes upon the windows, that no Necessary of life, not even the air, should be exempt from the being taxed, and that the poor should be made to pay for the light necessary for their work, as the rich, for that which lights them, in their idleness. Taxes upon Land, taxes upon Hereditaments, houses, goods and chattels, offices, pensions, wages, salaries given by the King, &c.

The Land-tax, doubtless the wisest, and the least expensive of all in the collection of it, since it does not stand in six-pence half-penny a pound sterling charged on it, has two great faults; the one, the slowness of its levying, which is near two years accomplishing: the other, the inequality of it which has lasted since its institution. The first declaration of value being still subsisting, and the estimate of the rentals having been then so unequally made, that though the tax is the same precisely for

every County, or province in England, some shall pay four shillings and perhaps more in the pound, whilst others shall pay no more than three or two; insomuch, that it is not doubted, but that upon a fairer and exacter survey, and estimate of the lands, the shilling a pound now computed at five hundred thousand pounds, would have produced near a million. Such a resource as this amendment of a tax continued from year to year, would doubtless have much forwarded the great work of the reimbursement of our debts: but the landed-men have, at all times, showed no other care, or concern than for lowering the land-tax from 4 to 3, and in times of peace to 2 shillings in the pound, inspired by the propensity, and power which the rich have ever had to throw the burthen off themselves upon the Poor, and without perceiving that the taxes they should perpetuate by this false œconomy, must ultimately fall again at length upon their own lands, through the diminution of consumption at home, and abroad.

The consideration of the different taxes which constitute the Revenue of the State, and of the inconveniencies of each, naturally leads a Patriot to the desire of finding the

the means of taxing all the articles which could, and ought to be made contribute, in the justest, easiest, equalest manner, to the Public charge; that is to say, of taxing every subject in proportion to the advantage he draws from Society: insomuch, that with respect to him who has no property, so far from depriving him of the hopes of acquiring any, the influence of the taxes should be no more than a gentle spur to his industry, and that it should fall reasonably, and not arbitrarily upon those who have some property, that is to say, in proportion to the real and personal estates they enjoy.

A free tax bearing solely upon the different articles of luxury, and consumption (those of absolute necessity excepted) seems the properest to fulfill these intentions. It is what the author above quoted, Sir Matthew Decker, seems to have happily executed in a recapitulation of divers articles of luxury, as the use of coaches, chairs, horses, plate, jewells, diamonds, wine in the cellar, brandy, tea, coffee, chocolate in private or public houses, &c. He takes each of these articles for the sign of a fortune of such a certain revenue, upon which he is for imposing a tax of three pence for every

every pound sterling, double upon unmarried persons, single as to housekeepers upon the master of the family, a fourth upon women, an eighth upon each child under age, &c. a tax which should be levied upon all the articles of luxury, for the permission of which every subject should take out yearly licences from the State. He demonstrates this tax to be the freest, the least easy to evade by fraud, as it turns upon a public luxury which every one has an interest in discovering of another: the least difficult, and the least expensive in the collection of it: of the readiest recovery, by allowing a discount for prompt payment within 2, 6, or 9 months; a tax, in short, certainly more advantageous to the proprietors of real, and personal estates, to the merchants, and to those who have no property, than the other actual taxes ||, should it be substituted to them.

This

|| The crude materials, the necessary consumptions, the manufacturers being disburthened of the duties, and the consequences of them, which double their price, this diminution would augment the Trade, the revenues, and the ease of every one. Thus every one would have the means of luxury,

but

This project is the means he proposes to arrive at very essential and interesting reforms: but if the alterations he has planned appear too arduous an undertaking, nobody has refused him the justice to allow, but that his project is the most desirable, and the best to be substituted to the system of Excise, and Custom-house duties, the most capable of sufficiency,
to

but the tax to which that luxury would be subjected, would be so equitable, that it would be only the more productive, the more luxury should exceed, or go beyond a necessary consumption. The tax too would be as free as the luxury itself. Then again, luxury would be moderate in trade, and in the other usefull professions, from the great advantages which the wise, and the frugal, would find in their moderation, above those who should be otherwise.

The actual duties are repeated and augmented in proportion to the necessity of the articles of consumption which are subjected to it, the consumer pays 200, where the State does not receive above 100; now the tax upon luxury will be so much the farther removed from this inconveniency, as the articles of it are removed from the necessary, and general consumption.

The charges of collecting the Excise, and Custom-house duties, are at least 10 per cent. whereas in this proposed tax, they will not be above three pence in the pound, or $1\frac{1}{10}$ per cent.

to the ordinary occasions of the State, and of extension, in case of extraordinary exigencies.

However, whether this system be, or be not adopted, a shilling more only on the actual land-tax, or rather the two shillings a pound, as at present, but upon a new, and exact survey, and estimate, faithfully appropriated yearly in conjunction with the Sinking Fund, to the reimbursement of our debts, would in less than twenty years effectuate the clearance of the nation, and the suppression of above four millions sterling of annual taxes, or paid for interest. But it is vain for a patriot to hope for his Country, all the good he imagines, or sees possible. The proprietors of the debts have acquired too great a credit; the landed-men will remain blind to their true interests; in short, the ministry will continue to pursue its old tracks: bribery, and corruption are become to it, its springs of government, the taxes multiplied under so many shapes, produce lucrative employs without number to give away, and spread every where its influence over elections: it will not then renounce the firmest prop of the empire it has usurped over the Nation, and even over the
King

King to whom it leaves little at his disposal, under the specious pretext of managing for his interest and service.

Whilst then so many interests are concurrently united against the Good of the Public, what hopes can the Future present to us, or other than unprofitable regrets for the deplorable overturn of a Constitution the wisest, the noblest, the most capable of rendering happy Men who will be free, and the most worthy of a King, who should place his content and glory in commanding over men free, and who deserve to be so!

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